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PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F. S. A.

VOL. VII.

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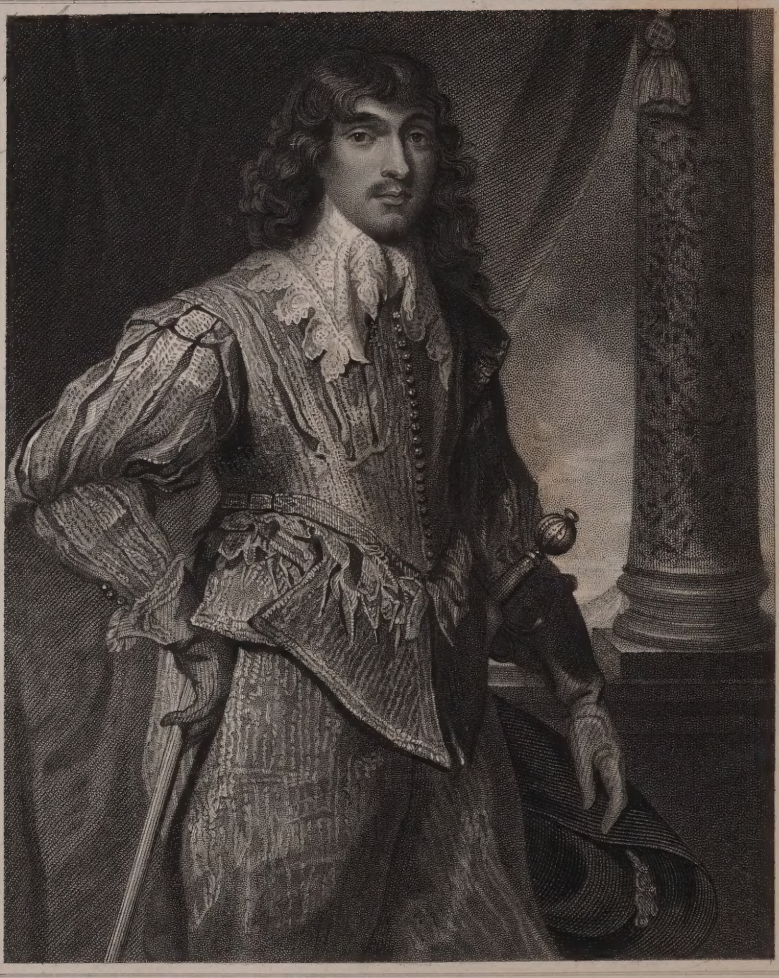


Engraved by H.Robinson.

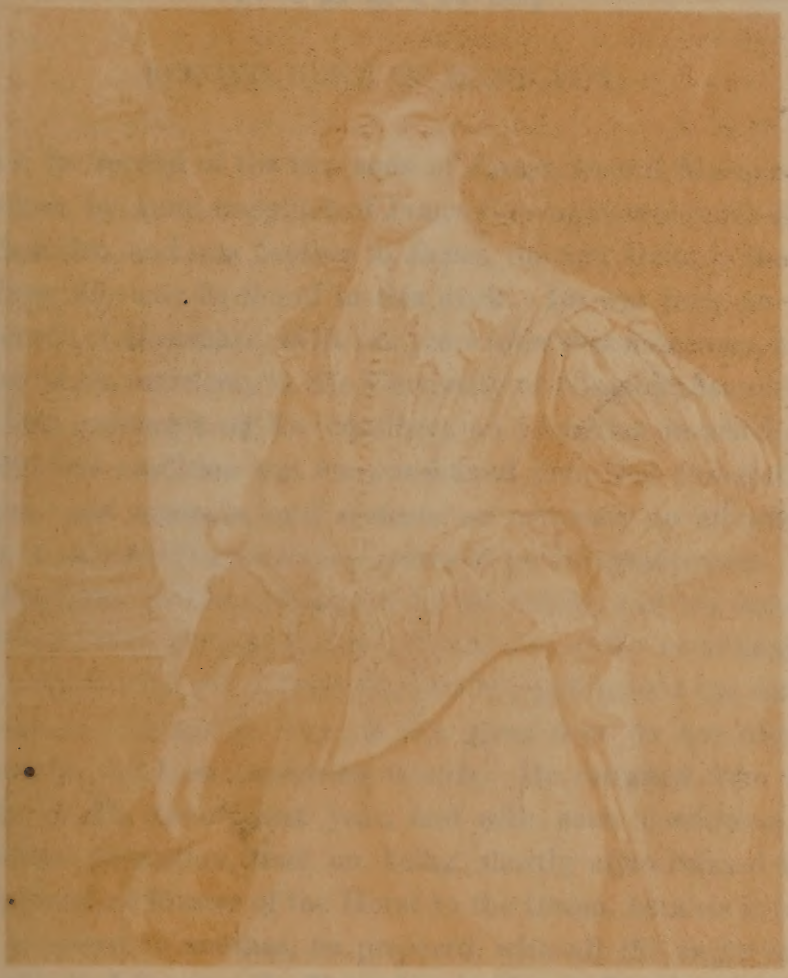
WILLIAM, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

OB.1651.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London, Published Nov.r 1. 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



WILLIAM,

SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON,

Was the second of the two sons of James, second Marquis of Hamilton, by Anne, daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, and was brother to James, the first Duke, a sketch of whose life may be found in this work. He was born on the fourteenth of December, 1616, ten years after that nobleman, and, having made some stay in the University of Glasgow, completed in a long residence on the continent an education in which we are told that erudition was less considered than that observation of men, and manners, and systems, so necessary to all whose views are directed to the higher orders of public employment. It is evident that he was so designed by his family, and his success could have been scarcely doubtful, for he was of the royal blood; and, while he was yet a child, his brother had gained the entire affection of Charles the first; in the mean time he was distinguished by the most promising talents. He returned from his travels in his twenty-first year, and with such confidence of immediate promotion, that on being shortly after refused the appointment of Master of the Horse to the Queen, because it had been promised to another, he prepared, with all the anger of a man who had been really ill used, to retire to France, and was dissuaded solely by an unsolicited promise from the King of instant preferment. Accordingly on the thirty-first of March, 1639, he was created Baron Polmont, and Macanshire, and Earl of Lanerick, (Lanark) and in the following year was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. These circumstances sufficiently prove not only the high degree of favour which he suddenly acquired, but the resolute and ardent temper which is said to have been the ruling feature in his character.

It is scarcely necessary to say that he was nearly unacquainted with the affairs of that country, then peculiarly critical. To his brother therefore, a man not only well experienced in them, but of considerable ability, and so many years older than himself, he naturally looked for direction. Among the various misfortunes which at that period combined to undermine the regal power in Scotland perhaps the most evident was Charles's partiality to the House of Hamilton. The mother of these noblemen, a woman of powerful understanding, and of masculine spirit and activity, whose father was one of the fathers of the covenant, had implanted in the mind of her heir, even from his earliest infancy, an enthusiastic attachment to the new fanaticism, and he communicated the infection to his brother. They conceived between them the utterly impracticable project of uniting to a Monarchy of high pretensions a Calvinistic church. The Duke remained stedfast in his error to the last moment of his life, but Lanerick at length retracted; not however till he had considerably injured the royal cause, to which notwithstanding he was most loyally devoted.

Thus for more than two years after his entrance into his office he was alternately occupied in beseeching the King to bend to the humiliating demands of the covenanters, and in endeavouring to dissuade them from actual rebellion, and failed in both. At length, in the spring of 1643, the Scottish Privy Council determined on calling, without the King's necessary warrant, a Parliament, under the denomination of a Convention of the Estates. A large correspondence on this subject between Charles, the Duke of Hamilton, and Lanerick, is extant, and closes with a letter from the King to the Secretary, concluding with this clear direction—"If, notwithstanding our refusal, and the endeavours of our well-affected subjects and servants to hinder it, there shall be a convention of the Estates, then we wish that all those who are right-affected to us should be present at it: but to do nothing there, but only protest against their meeting and actions." On the twenty-second of June, this convention, which in the end

overthrew the royal authority in Scotland, assembled. Lanerick, at their first sitting, presented a letter from the King, excusing them for meeting without his concurrence, and limiting their deliberations to certain subjects; and Hamilton, in a speech of studied ambiguity, instead of simply protesting, as the King had requested, obscurely threatened it. The assembly however, confident in its strength, and pre-determined on its course, insisted on his making an explicit declaration, when Lanerick stood up, and said for his brother, as Lord Clarendon reports, that "he hoped that noble Lord's affections to his country were better known than that any man could imagine he would protest against the Parliament of the kingdom." They contented themselves with making a verbal declaration that it was not in their opinion a free Convention, the King's sanction being wanting. Those who had pledged themselves to support in it the royal cause became discouraged, and many of them retired to their respective countries; Lanerick and Hamilton continued to sit in silence occasionally in the Convention; and when that body, shortly after, following the example of their brethren of the English Parliament, resolved to make war on the King with an army raised by them in his name, Lanerick actually put the royal signet, which in right of his office was in his custody, to the proclamation for the general levy.

The loyal nobility of Scotland were highly incensed by this conduct, and Montrose, whose devotion to the royal cause was equalled only by the courage with which he always defended it, set out privately to accuse the brothers to the King; but they soon discovered his intention, followed him to Oxford, where Charles then was, apparently in the hope of averting the storm which threatened them; and were immediately made prisoners. Lanerick, by the aid of a Mr. Cunningham, a gentleman of the privy chamber, presently found means to escape, and went to London, and soon after into Scotland, where he again applied himself, still, however, under the influence of that temporising

and suspicious policy, which he had imbibed from the lessons and the example of his brother, to the King's service. Of the conduct of a partisan so circumstanced it is natural that little should have transpired. The only fact of which we are clearly informed is that he was in 1645 actively engaged with the covenanters in endeavouring to resist the progress of Montrose's victorious arms; and it may be reasonably inferred that he had Charles's secret consent to this, since that Prince almost immediately after received him again into the office of Secretary, from which he had been dismissed on his arrest at Oxford, and indeed into the fullest confidence. In the spring of the following year he was appointed, together with the Earls of Loudon and Lauderdale, by the rebel government sitting at Edinburgh under the name of the Committee of Estate, a commissioner to treat with the King, then in the hands of the Scottish army, as well as with such commissioners as might arrive from the English Parliament, and seemed to join heartily in the persecution which they were deputed to inflict on that unhappy Prince. Just at that period, the Duke, his brother, who had been for nearly three years in apparent disgrace, and a prisoner in the Castle of Pendennis, in Cornwall, from whence he was liberated merely by the fortune of war, arrived at Newcastle, and presented himself to the King, who received him with a countenance which implied a complete oblivion of all former causes of offence. The secret understanding which undoubtedly subsisted between Charles and these brothers is enveloped in a cloud of mystery, towards the dispelling of which history has left us even without tolerable presumptions.

The close of this year, 1646, was distinguished by the fruitless negociation at Newcastle between the King and the Scottish Parliament. Lanerick, who was almost the sole instrument of their intercourse, exhorted Charles without intermission to submit to all the bitter conditions propounded to him, but found his magnanimity immoveable. At length the Parliament resolved to put him into the hands of the English commissioners. When

that detestable measure was proposed to the House, Lanerick prefaced his negative voice with these words: "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." Charles for the most part of his succeeding captivity found means to correspond with him, and held him to the last in unabated confidence. In December, 1647, he concluded with the King, in the Isle of Wight, in concert with Loudon and Lauderdale, still acting under the authority of the commission granted to them two years before, that remarkable secret treaty which they had lately commenced with his Majesty at Hampton Court. Charles, to whom at this period almost any change of circumstances would have been desirable, now conceded all that he had refused at Newcastle; and the Scots, on their part, engaged to raise a powerful army for the invasion of England, and to do their utmost to re-establish his authority. The army was levied accordingly, by authority of the Parliament; placed under the command of the Duke of Hamilton; and totally overthrown within few weeks after it left Scotland. Lanerick, who in the mean time had been exerting himself to the utmost in that country in promoting the views of those who had joined in support of the stipulations of the treaty, and who were therefore called "the Lords of Engagement," was now deprived of his office of Secretary of State, and proscribed, by the same Parliament, which had so lately authorized those measures his activity and zeal in the execution of which were the only faults alledged against him.

He fled to Holland so nearly at the time when Hamilton was beheaded in London, which was on the sixth of March, 1649, that Lord Clarendon says "he did not know till he arrived there that he was Duke of Hamilton, by the slaughter of his elder brother." Charles the Second, who had taken refuge in that country, and who had been deprived of his royal father by a similar stroke only five weeks before, received him with a grace

and kindness, heightened no doubt by melancholy sympathy. The Duke, whose entire affection, and indeed veneration, for his brother had never allowed him to reason on the dictates of one to whom in all matters he submitted with delight, or to seek for motives in his own breast, after some little time looked back with deep regret to many things that he had done, and more that he had omitted. He declared, as Lord Clarendon tells us, " that his condition had been very hard; for that having been always bred up in the Church of England, for which he had a great reverence, he was forced to comply with the covenant, which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation, and would be as glad as any man to declare against it." He added, that " he had been driven into rebellion by the calumnies and persecution of Montrose," (who was indeed his brother's bitter enemy,) " which nothing else could have done; and for that he always asked God forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the King." Unhappily that expiation was near at hand.

He presently acquired the young King's esteem. The Order of the Garter, all that Charles then had to give, was conferred on him soon after his arrival. He was of the number which attended that Prince in his voyage to Scotland in June 1650; but was not at first permitted by the ruling party there to approach the capital, and retired therefore to the Isle of Arran, where he remained till the succeeding January, when he was again suffered to wait on the King. Cromwell was then in Scotland, at the head of the army which had lately won the battle of Dunbar, and the Duke, now first a soldier, raised a body of troops, and led them with distinguished gallantry in several enterprises. In the mean time the Scots formed an army destined to march into England under the command of the King, who appointed Hamilton his Lieutenant-General. He entered on this great service with melancholy forebodings, not the result of any superstitious impressions, but of a just and enlarged review of all the

considerations which the enterprize involved. On the march he earnestly recommended in more than one council that the army should proceed directly to London, but his opinion was overruled by the English. They arrived at length at Worcester, and Cromwell, who had therefore left Scotland, advanced to meet them with an overwhelming force. Hamilton, who had passed the night preceding the battle in devout meditation, the fruits of which have been published by Bishop Burnet from the Duke's original manuscript, was in the morning at his proper post, when, early in the action, seeing his own regiment retreating, he flew alone to rally it; and, after performing prodigies of valour, received a shot which shattered the bone of his leg. He survived eight days, and expired on the eleventh of September, 1651, amidst the debates of surgeons, who could not agree on the question of amputation.

Lord Clarendon, who has repeatedly eulogized his character, tells us, that " he was in all respects to be preferred to his brother. A much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man; for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece. He had unquestionable courage. He was in truth a very accomplished person; of an excellent judgement, and clear and ready expressions; and, though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily ran to all opportunities of redeeming it; and in the very article of his death he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness that he had the honour to lose his life in the King's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions, which he always professed were odious to himself." Burnet tells us that " his youth discovered, with an extraordinary capacity, so much ingenuity that candour seemed in him not so much the effect of virtue as nature, since from a child he could never upon any temptation be made to lie." The Bishop adds that " he was of a middle stature; his complexion black, but very agreeable; and his whole mien was noble and sprightful."

WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON.

William, second Duke of Hamilton, married, in 1638, Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton in Scotland, and had by her one son, James, Lord Polmont, who died an infant, and five daughters; Anne, wife of Robert Carnegy, third Earl of Southesk: Elizabeth, married first to James Conyngham, Lord Kilmaurs, eldest son of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn; secondly, to Sir David Cunningham, of Robertland; Mary, married to Alexander Livingstone, second Earl of Calendar; secondly, to Sir James Livingstone, of Westquarter; thirdly, to James Ogilvie, Earl of Findlater; Margaret, to William Blair, of Blair; and Diana, who died young.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

JAMES STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY.

OB. 1651.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF DERBY.

London, Published Feb^y 1, 1831, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JAMES STANLEY,

EARL OF DERBY.

The motto, "Sans Changer," used for so many centuries by the elder line of the noble house of Stanley, seems to have been adopted in a prophetic spirit. Invariably honourable, just, bounteous, hospitable, valiant, and magnificent; above all, invariably loyal; that family may perhaps safely challenge history and tradition to shew one defective link in its long chain of succession; to point out a single stain on the purity of its public conduct, or on its uniform exercise of the mild and graceful duties of private life. Of the Nobleman whose eulogium will be attempted in the following pages (for the simple story of his life will form his true eulogium) it is not too much to say, that his family, the peerage, and his country, are bound, in policy, as well as by affection, to cherish his memory, even with a reverential regard.

He was the firstborn of the three sons of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and at length heir general of that most ancient house. Of his youth, and early manhood, scarcely any particulars have been preserved. He has left proofs, however, that his education was worthy of his rank, and perhaps of his mind. The Court knew little of him till it had become a military Court. He was one of the many Knights of the Bath appointed at the coronation of Charles the first, when he was a very young man, bearing the title of Lord Strange, by which two years after he was summoned to Parliament; and these, with the exception of those provincial authorities which seemed almost naturally to belong to him, were the only public marks of favour that he ever

received from that Prince; so that his devotion to the Crown may be said to have flowed even from a finer source than gratitude. He passed his time in splendid privacy; superintending the several princely establishments of his ancient father, in Lancashire, and in the Isle of Man, where the Earls of Derby then exercised a royal sway; cultivating the morals and manners of a numerous population, attached to him and to his ancestors by feelings which wanted but the fact of actual parentage to make them really filial; and employing his leisure in studies not less philosophic than polite. The lamentable crisis of the grand rebellion drew him in an instant from these peaceful engagements, and he was among the first who joined the King, after the fury of the Parliament had driven his Majesty to York. He assumed the character of a soldier within very few weeks after the death of his father had invested him with the utmost extent of those views of prosperity which nothing but his engaging in the war could have frustrated.

An unfortunate change of resolution in Charles's Council not only rendered Lord Derby's first endeavours in a great measure abortive, but had an ill effect also on many of his subsequent services. It had been determined that the royal standard should be first hoisted at Warrington, and the Earl, whose influence in that part of the island was unbounded, had been sent back into Lancashire, immediately after his arrival at York, with directions to collect the military force of the county. He had performed that duty with surprising celerity and exactness, and had actually mustered on the three heaths of Preston, Ormskirk, and Bury, a force of sixty thousand men, and was proceeding to take the same course in Cheshire, and North Wales, where, as well as in Lancashire, he was Lord Lieutenant, when he suddenly received notice that the King had resolved to set up his standard at Nottingham; and, soon after, a special letter from his Majesty, directing him to hasten to the head quarters, with such troops as he might be able to equip completely. In the mean time great numbers of the Lancashire men, piqued at the disappointment, returned to their

homes, resolving to stand neuter, while many others joined the rebels, and aided them considerably in seizing on the town of Manchester. The Earl, however severely mortified, speedily raised among his friends and tenants three regiments of foot, and as many troops of horse, which he clothed and armed at his own expense, and waited on the King who was then at Shrewsbury, to receive his orders for the disposal of them. He was commanded to return to them with the utmost speed, and to endeavour to take Manchester by a bold and sudden attack; and having accordingly made all preparations, even to fixing the hour for the assault, he received orders the night before to join the King, without a moment's delay, with his force, which was then most imprudently placed under the command of others, while he was desired to repair again into Lancashire, to make new efforts to raise men in a country dispirited, offended, and now in no small degree disaffected. Lord Clarendon, whose report of all these matters is given too much at large to be admitted here, seems to treat the Earl's concern in them with less than his usual candour.

Lancashire however was now nearly lost to the Crown. The Earl, with much difficulty, collected a sufficient force to take Preston and Lancaster by storm, and led it personally in those enterprises with the greatest bravery, and was preparing to attack Manchester, when this new levy was also called away to the main army, and he was once more left without the means of using offensive measures. Nothing was now left for him in his county but to fortify his mansion at Latham, in which he was busily employed when he received intelligence that the rebels had planned an attack on the Isle of Man, and immediately sailed thither, leaving the completion of his works at Latham, and its defence to his Countess. Of the romantic excellence of that lady's conduct in the execution of her charge I shall say nothing more in this place, but will endeavour in another part of the work to do that justice to her memory which has been hitherto in a great measure neglected. Latham House, the siege of which

commenced in February, 1644, was defended first by the Countess in person, and afterwards by one of the Officers whom she had originally placed in it under her command, for more than two years, and was at last surrendered by a positive order from the King, having cost the enemy no less than six thousand men, and being one of the last fortified places in the kingdom that had held out for his Majesty. The Earl, who had returned from Man during the siege, found Prince Rupert unsuccessfully besieging the town of Bolton, which was in the midst of his own territory, and which, with the aid of some companies of his old provincial soldiers, who at his request were placed under his command for that peculiar service, he carried by a furious assault in the space of half an hour, and was the first man who entered it. He now returned to the Isle of Man, together with his Countess, leaving his children in England, who were soon after basely seized and imprisoned, by an order of the House of Commons. Offers were repeatedly made to him by that body to restore them, and to leave him in quiet possession of his whole estate, if he would give up the island; but he constantly refused, even after all hope for the royal cause was lost, saying that "he would never redeem either by his disloyalty." Affronted at length by solicitations which evinced a doubt in those by whom they were used of his courage or fidelity, he sent the following glorious reply to a proposal made to him by the regicide Ireton, who was frequently the organ of the party on such occasions, and from that moment the rebels vowed the deepest vengeance against him:—

"I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn I return you this answer—that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my Sovereign; since you cannot be insensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service, from which principle of loyalty I am in no way departed. I scorn your proffers: I disdain your favours: I abhor your treasons: and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I

will keep it, to the utmost of my power, to your destruction. Take this final answer, and forbear any further solicitations; for, if you trouble me with any more messages upon this occasion, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who accounts it the chiefest glory to be

His Majesties most loyal and obedient Servant,

DERBY."

Castle Town,
12th July, 1649.

He remained in the Isle of Man till the year 1651, when the young King, having resolved to leave Scotland, at the head of an army unhappily commanded rather by Presbyterian Ministers than by its Generals, dispatched an order to the Earl to meet him in Lancashire, which he instantly obeyed, and received there the King's command to endeavour once more to raise troops in that county. Charles, who was then repairing by forced marches to Shrewsbury, left with him a body of about two hundred horse, consisting mostly of officers and gentlemen, to enable him, should he prove unsuccessful in his levy, to follow the army with a better chance of security. Having employed trusty persons to publish the news of his arrival, and to give notice of his views, he took up his quarters, within two or three days after he had left the King, in the town of Wigan, to await the appearance of his friends; where on the very next morning he was attacked by a large body of militia, and regular troops, which Cromwell had unexpectedly detached, under the command of Lilburn, to harass the rear of the King's army on its march, and to pick up such stragglers as might not keep pace with it. The most heroic, but at length ineffectual, resistance was made for two hours by the Earl, and his small band, against a force of three thousand horse and foot. It is recorded that he received in this sanguinary skirmish seven shot on his breast plate, thirteen cuts on his beaver, and five or six wounds on his arms and shoulders, and

that he had two horses killed under him. He found means however to escape, almost alone, through Shropshire and Staffordshire, to the King, at Worcester, reserved for a harder fate.

In the evening of the third of September, the day on which the fatal battle was fought close to that city, his wounds yet bleeding, for only eight days had passed since his fierce encounter at Wigan, he secretly and safely conducted Charles, by St. Martin's gate in Worcester, from the horrors and dangers which surrounded him; directed his Majesty to the since celebrated retreats of White-ladies, and Boscobel, in each of which himself had been within a few days before sheltered; and took leave of the King for ever. He now travelled, with as much speed as his condition would allow, towards his own country; but had scarcely arrived within Cheshire when he was attacked by a party commanded by a rebel Major of the name of Edge, to whom he surrendered, under a promise of quarter. The Parliament, however, sent down to Chester a commission to nineteen persons of its military in that part of the country, all of whom were notoriously his personal enemies, to form themselves into what was called a High Court of Justice, and "to try the Earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion." He was of course condemned to die; and these mock judges indulged themselves in the vulgar barbarity of sending him to suffer their sentence in his own town of Bolton, where he had last appeared as a conqueror, and of subjecting him on his way thither, and indeed to the moment of his death, to brutal insult. A minute narrative of the circumstances of his final hours was penned, with touching simplicity, by a Mr. Bagaley, one of his gentlemen, who was allowed to attend him to the last, and the manuscript has been carefully preserved in the family. A transcript of the most part of it may be found in Collins's Peerage. It displays one of the purest examples extant of the courage of a soldier, the patience of a philosopher, and the piety of a Christian. He meant to have addressed himself at some length to the People, but was interrupted. In the part which he uttered are these

passages:—"As for my crime, as some are pleased to call it, to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name, for I did it in obedience to his call whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time. I confess I love Monarchy, and I love my master, Charles, the second of that name, whom I myself proclaimed in this country to be King. The Lord bless and preserve him; and I wish so much happiness to this people after my death that he may enjoy his right, and then they cannot want their rights. I profess here, in the presence of God, I always sought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither means nor honours, nor did I seek to enlarge either. By the King's predecessors mine were raised to a high condition, it is well known to the country; and it is as well known that by his enemies I am condemned to suffer by new and unknown laws. The Lord send us our King again, and our old Laws again, and the Lord send us our Religion again. Truly to me it seems I die for God, the King, and the Laws; and this makes me not to be ashamed of my life, nor afraid of my death." At these words one of the persons by whom he was guarded on the scaffold, misunderstanding him, ignorantly cried "We have no King, and we will have no Lords." and he was not permitted to say more; Bagaley's narrative, however, gives the remainder of his intended speech, from the notes which the Earl at that moment handed to him. He was beheaded on Wednesday, the fifteenth of October, 1651; and England has not produced a parallel character since loyalty ceased to be an unmixed sentiment.

"The Earl of Derby," says Lord Clarendon, who, by the way, seems never to have felt cordially towards him, "was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the King, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. The King in his first year sent him the Order of the Garter, which, in many respects, he had expected from the last; and the sense of that honour made him

so readily comply with the King's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots, who he thought had too much guilt upon them in having depressed the Crown to be made instruments in repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour, and clear courage, and all his defects and misfortunes arose from his having lived so little a time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors, which was the source of all the ill that befel him; having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death."

He married Charlotte, daughter to Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars, and Peer of France, by whom he had Charles, his successor, and two younger sons, Edward and William, who died infants; and four daughters; Charlotte, who died young; Henrietta Maria, who was married to William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford; Catherine, to Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester; and Amelia Sophia, to John Murray, Marquis of Athol. It remains only to be added to this sketch that the Earl had very considerable talents; was inclined to literary composition, and was among the best prose writers of his time. In the Desiderata Curiosa may be found "The History of the Isle of Man, by James, Earl of Derby, and Lord of Man, interspersed with large and excellent advices to his son;" and one of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, is a sort of historical common-place book, written by his hand. It contains chiefly extracts from the popular libel called "Leicester's Common-wealth;" from the History of the Council of Trent; and from Fuller's Holy War. On the first page he has written "Ne turba operas meas"—J. Derby, 1645; and on the last, "Finis, Ja. 13, 1645, at Castle Rushin, in the Isle of Man—J. Derby."

Engraved by J. Cochran.

FRANCIS, LORD COTTINGTON.

OB. 1652.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN SOMER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published May 1, 1835 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

FRANCIS, LORD COTTINGTON.

Lord Clarendon informs us, and has of course been followed by those who may have since written of Lord Cottington's origin, that "he was born a gentleman, both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire seat near Bruton, in Somersetshire, worth about two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from father to son for many hundred years, and his mother being a Stafford, nearly allied to Sir Edward Stafford, who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, and had been Ambassador in France." This statement is in part incorrect. It is true that his father, Philip Cottington, of Godmanston, in Somersetshire, to whom he was fourth son, was such a person as the noble historian describes, but his mother was Jane, daughter of Thomas Byfleet, of Bratton, in the same county, a gentleman of ancient family there, nor can I find any trace of her connection with the once great House of Stafford.

He was born in the year 1576, and, whether related or not to Sir Edward Stafford, was certainly received into that gentleman's household, when a very young man, in the office of master of the horse. His education had been wholly neglected. "He was illiterate," to use the words of a great authority which will be presently quoted more at large, "as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science;" but he had an acute understanding, a cool head, a cooler heart, and the most indefatigable industry. Thus in a great measure qualified by nature for a statesman, Stafford recommended him to Sir Robert Cecil, through whose influence he became secretary to Sir Charles Cornwallis, in his embassy to Spain; accompanied him thither in that capacity in 1605; and on Cornwallis's return four years after

was intrusted for a considerable time with the sole management of the affairs of England at that court. In 1614 he was appointed a clerk of the Privy Council, and in 1616, on the recall of the ambassador Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, was again dispatched to Madrid, to assume the functions of that minister, which he continued to perform till the year 1621, when he obtained the office of secretary to Charles, Prince of Wales.

It is probable that he owed that appointment, as well as the title of Baronet, which was presently after conferred on him, to his intimate knowledge of the manners and language of Spain. The Prince and Buckingham were then secretly concerting that impolitic journey to Madrid which forms so important a feature in the history of that period, and had in fact determined that Cottington, and one more, should be their only confidential attendants. When they imparted their design to James, who strongly opposed it, he sent for Cottington, and told him, says Lord Clarendon, doubtless from Cottington's information, "that he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was now to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he was not, on his life, to disclose to any man alive: then said to him, 'Cottington, here is Baby Charles and Stenny' (an appellation he always used of and towards the Duke), 'who have a great mind to go by post into Spain, to fetch home the Infanta, and will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one; what think you of the journey?' He often protested since that when he heard the King he fell into such a trembling that he could hardly speak; but when the King commanded him to answer him what he thought of the journey, he replied that he could not think well of it, and that he believed it would render all that had been done towards the match fruitless; for that Spain would no longer think themselves obliged by those articles, but that, when they had the Prince in their hands, they would make new overtures, which they believed more advantageous to them, amongst which they must look for many that would concern

religion, and the exercise of it in England: upon which the King threw himself upon his bed, and said 'I told you this before,' and fell into new passion and lamentation, that he was undone, and should lose Baby Charles."

Buckingham, who was the main projector of the expedition, loaded Cottington with the bitterest reproaches, even in the King's presence, for uttering this candid opinion, while James defended him with equal earnestness. He attended the Prince to Madrid, and by his prudent counsels there did his utmost to prevent the evil consequences which he had foreseen, but the result fully justified his predictions. On his return he boldly demonstrated to James the fair intentions of Spain with respect to the treaty for the marriage, and the extravagant conduct of Buckingham, by which it had been thwarted. The anger of the favourite was excited to the last degree, but remained inactive during the short remnant of the King's life. On the accession however of Charles, when Cottington appeared at court in order to his daily attendance, he was told by one of the secretaries of state that "it was the King's pleasure that he should come no more into those rooms;" and Buckingham, perhaps purposely, entering at that moment, Cottington advanced firmly to him, and, ascribing to his resentment the inhibition which he had just received, demanded plainly whether it were possible for him to restore himself to his Grace's good opinion. Buckingham, with that sincerity which was among the best of his virtues, answered no; "that he was not only resolved never to trust him, but that he was, and would be always, his declared enemy, and would do always whatsoever should be in his power to ruin and destroy him, and that of this he might be most assured." After a time however the Duke so far relaxed as to consult him on the war with Spain, which had been produced by his own misconduct, but he remained unemployed till after Buckingham's death, which presently ensued.

On the eighteenth of April, 1629, he was appointed Chan-

cellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and in the succeeding winter, such was the opinion of his clear perception of the true policy of his country with respect to Spain, was detached from the urgent duties of those busy offices, and once more sent to Madrid to negociate a peace. He executed this commission with the greatest credit, and, returning in the spring of 1631, was on the tenth of the following July created Baron Cottington of Hanworth, in Middlesex. Charles, on his departure for Scotland in 1633, invested him formally with an authority to exercise the functions of Lord High Treasurer during his absence, and in the course of the same year gave him the office, then so important to the royal revenue, of Master of the Court of Wards, his vigilance and exactness in which gave much offence to the nobility and higher gentry. Many circumstances however in the character of the times, as well as in his own character, now concurred to render him generally unpopular. He began to be considered, as in fact he was, as a member of that selection from the Privy Council which about that time began to be invidiously called "the Cabinet," for indeed all the great measures of the government flowed from the joint deliberations of Laud, Strafford, and himself, and this, in the poisoned imaginations of that day, placed him at the fountain head of all sorts of mischief. In addition to this disadvantage he was not only the superintendant of the royal revenue, but the instrument of its expenditure. He was esteemed the leader of the Spanish faction, then vulgarly held in great disgust, and suspected at once to favour the cause of the papists, and to be himself indifferent as to all modes of religious faith. The disaffected great detested him for his loyalty, which they rightly believed to be incorruptible, and because he held certain profitable places of which they earnestly wished to possess themselves.

Thus he stood at the commencement of the year 1640, when Charles added to the proofs of confidence which he had already given him the office of Constable of the Tower of London, in which

a guard of four hundred men had been lately placed to provide against any sudden tumult which might arise in the city. The King was presently obliged, in deference to the jealousy of the House of Commons, to revoke this appointment, and Cottington soon after, in the honest hope of conciliating some of the party by the only sacrifices he could make to their rapacity, voluntarily resigned his place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and on the seventeenth of May, 1641, his Mastership of the Wards, which last was immediately bestowed on the Lord Say, who had bargained to give in exchange for it all the loyalty of which he was capable. Cottington now retired into private life, and so remained till the King assembled his Parliament at Oxford, in the commencement of the year 1644, when he obeyed a summons to join that illustrious body, and was soon after commanded by Charles to take on himself the office, or rather the name, of Lord High Treasurer. Whitelock informs us that he, as well as other men of rank, assisted with their manual labour in the defence of Oxford when besieged by Fairfax, and signed the articles by which it was surrendered to that General in 1646. On the twenty-fourth of September in that year the rebel Parliament passed a vote directing a sale of his estates, and the application of the produce to the service of Ireland, but they were afterwards devoted, for the most part, to the maintenance of the state of the infamous Bradshaw. He remained in England till all possibility of his rendering any service to the royal cause had ceased, and till his own person was in the most imminent peril. In April, 1648, we find him at Rouen, in Normandy, and on the twenty-fourth of the following October he, with a few others, were specially excepted for ever from pardon.

Charles the second was at the Hague when he received the news of his father's murther, and was about the same time joined there by Lord Cottington, who was sworn of his Privy Council, and directed, or at least allowed, to retain his empty title of High Treasurer. He was now grown old and infirm, and unable

to endure either the wanderings to which he foresaw that his new master's little court would be subjected, or the intrigues and jealousies which had even already begun to infest it. He was conscious that he could render no service to Charles but in Spain, and perhaps longed once more to re-visit it, for it seemed the land of his adoption. He consulted Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, with whom for the most part he had kept house since their flight, on the expediency of a formal mission to implore the friendship of the King of Spain to their forlorn Sovereign, and proposed that they should offer themselves to Charles for that service, to which Hyde cordially assented, and the King, on Cottington's representation to him of the policy of the measure, nominated them his joint ambassadors to Madrid. They arrived there about the middle of November, 1649, having, from their very entrance into Spain, seen abundant cause to expect a cool reception, and the answer given to the propositions which they delivered at their first audience left them nearly hopeless. They were however treated with respect, and, having determined that their ill success should not be ascribed to any want of diligence on their parts, they remained for fifteen months at Madrid. At length, on the arrival of the news of Cromwell's military advantages in Scotland, the King of Spain, who had been waiting for the preponderance of one of the two great parties, required them by a civil message in March, 1650, O. S. to depart, when Cottington requested permission to establish his abode in that country as a private man, and obtained it, with a proviso that he should not reside in Madrid. He now, for the fourth time, changed his profession of faith, and was publicly reconciled to the Church of Rome by the Pope's Nuncio, which done, he retired to Valladolid, where a society of English Jesuits established there, proud of such a proselyte, had provided a habitation, and every other comfort, for him. He died in that city in 1652, at the age of seventy-seven.

Lord Clarendon has left us the following exquisite notices of

this eminent person's character—" He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds, and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way, for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frighted with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science, but, by his perfect understanding the Spanish, which he spoke as a Spaniard, the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and, above all, in all kind of plantations, and arts of husbandry. He raised by his own virtue and industry a very fair estate, of which, though the revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year, yet he had four very good houses, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly; well served and attended in his house; had a better stable of horses; better provision for his sports, especially of hawks, in which he took great delight, than most of his quality; and lived always with great splendour; for, though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with, and under a grave countenance covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any body ill, but used very many well, for whom he had no regard. His greatest fault was that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion. He was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die,

which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts than love for his person."

Lord Cottington married Anne, daughter of Sir William Meredith, of London, and widow of Sir Robert Brett, Kn^ts^., and had by her a son, Charles, and a daughter, Anne, both of whom died, childless, in his life-time. Francis Cottington, son of his brother, Maurice, became therefore heir to his property, which, in spite of losses and confiscations, was still very considerable, and his Barony became extinct.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

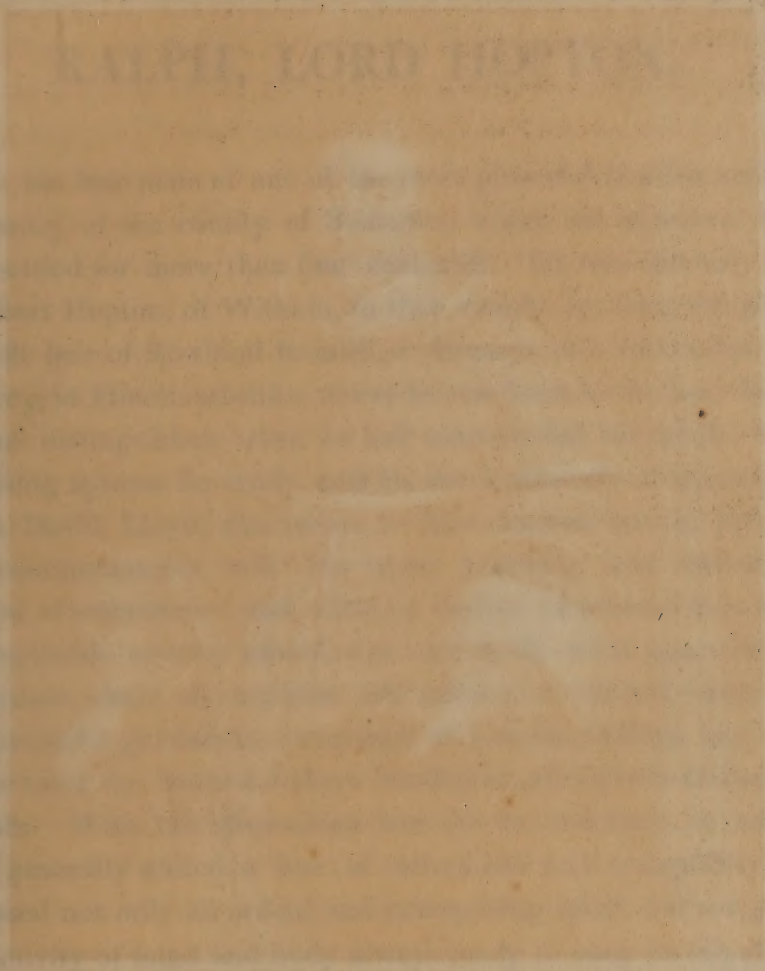
RALPH, LORD HOPTON.

OB. 1652.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE. THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Oct^r 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



RALPH, LORD HOPTON,

Was the heir-male of one of the most powerful families among the gentry of the county of Somerset, where his ancestors had been settled for more than four centuries. He was the only son of Robert Hopton, of Witham, in that county, by Jane, daughter and sole heir of Rowland Kemish, or Kemeys, of a seat called the Vandrey, in Monmouthshire, where he was born in the year 1598. He was distinguished, when he had scarcely left his cradle, by a surprising aptness for study, and for the attainment of languages, which David Lloyd, who seems to have known him in private life, commemorates with his usual prolixity, and whimsical method of expression; and, with no further assistance than that of a reputable country school, was sent at the usual age, with an uncommon share of erudition and science, to Oxford, where he was entered a gentleman commoner of Lincoln College, and had for his tutor the learned Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. With this disposition however to literature, to which is so generally united a love of retirement and tranquillity, he possessed not only an ardent and enterprising spirit, but a vigour and activity of mind and body always ready to obey its impulses. He fell therefore without hesitation into the fashion of the time, and left the university to serve as a volunteer in the Low Countries, and afterwards, with some regular command, in the war of the Palatinate, at the termination of which by the fatal battle of Prague, he had the honour of conducting the interesting Queen of Bohemia, sitting on horseback behind him, in her critical flight from that city. In these services, which seem to have occupied nearly five years of his youth, he acquired no small degree of that military skill which he afterwards so nobly applied,

as well as a high reputation for undaunted courage, insomuch that he was admitted into the number of Knights of the Bath who were created immediately before the coronation of King Charles the first.

He was elected to serve in the long Parliament as one of the burgesses for the city of Wells, and like most of the young men of that time, and indeed of all other times, was at first inclined to the popular party. He was not only on the committee which formed the bitter remonstrance of November, 1641, but was the person appointed by the malecontents to read it to the King when it was presented. He was however too wise and too virtuous to remain long in this error, and soon after began to oppose, not only by his vote, but by sound and bold argument, delivered with no small degree of eloquence, the fearful resolutions of that wretched assembly; till finding all efforts there to stem the torrent of mischief hopeless, he determined to retire within the circle of his own personal influence, and to make the best preparation that he could to strengthen and defend the Crown in the sad crisis which was evidently approaching. There he seized every opportunity favourable to that end, and by his intreaties, his reasonings, and his example, so wrought on the minds of the principal gentry of the west, that when the King sent the Marquis of Hertford, whom he had appointed his commander-in-chief, into that country, on the commencement of the war in the summer of 1633, they joined that nobleman at Wells without delay, with their retainers and servants, and led by Hopton, at the head of two troops of horse, which he had raised and armed at his own charge, and by his experience rendered fit for immediate service. From Wells the Marquis marched to Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, and, having held that town for two months in the face of an army greatly superior, retreated towards Wales, detaching Hopton with his horse into Cornwall, to try the affections of that province. So little did the committee appointed by the Parliament for the government of the western counties apprehend from this

small force, that, in mere contempt, they caused it to be presented at the Quarter Sessions in ordinary form of law, under the denomination of "divers men unknown,who had lately come armed into Cornwall contra pacem, &c." Hopton readily joined in the conceit; appeared voluntarily at the Quarter Sessions; produced the Marquis of Hertford's commission appointing him Lieutenant-General of the Horse; and told the court that he was sent to assist them in the defence of their liberties against illegal taxes and impositions; whereupon, says Lord Clarendon, "the jury, which consisted of gentlemen of good quality and fortunes in the county, after a full and solemn debate, not only acquitted Sir Ralph Hopton, and the other gentlemen, his companions, of any disturbance of the peace, but declared that it was a great favour and justice of his Majesty to send down aid to them, and that they thought it the duty of every good subject, as well in loyalty to the King, as in gratitude to those gentlemen, to join them with any hazard of life and fortune." But this was not all; for these good Cornish-men retaliated by indicting the Parliament commissioners for unlawfully assembling, and committing various misdemeanours and riots at Launceston, where they usually sat, and, the grand jury having found the bill, the High Sheriff was authorised to raise the posse comitatus and to apprehend them, which they avoided by fortifying the town. This curious instance of the regular execution of a legal process in a scene of war was at the time in no great degree beneficial to the royal cause, for, although within a few days Hopton's small force was thus joined by three thousand foot, well armed, at whose head he drove the commissioners, and their guard, from Launceston, the same authorities by which he had been so reinforced, obstinately determining still to be guided only by strict law, rendered their aid useless by preventing him from pursuing the rebels beyond the limits of the county. He marched therefore to Saltash, and expelled a garrison of Scots which they had placed there, but which was presently reinforced and restored by Ruthen, a native of that

country, who commanded the Parliament troops in the West, under the Earl of Stamford. Ruthen now advanced with a superior force, and a full expectation of easy victory, to Liskeard, where Hopton had fixed his quarters. The two little armies met in the middle of January, 1642, on Braddock Down, near that town, when, soon after the first onset, the rebel troops, seized with that panic which seldom fails to occur, on one side or the other, to newly-raised forces, fled in the utmost disorder, and Hopton, after a short contest and pursuit, in which his humanity in avoiding bloodshed was distinguished, found himself in possession of all their cannon, ammunition, and colours, and between twelve and thirteen hundred prisoners, and having once more driven them out of Saltash, whither they had fled, remained in effect master of the whole of Cornwall.

This success however did little more in those parts for the royal cause than to place Hopton's force on an equality of strengh with that of the rebels. He had marched after the battle of Braddock Down into Devonshire, and had taken up his quarters at Tavistock, when a proposition was made to him by several gentlemen of weight in that county, either enemies or neutrals, in the hope of averting the horrors of war from that quarter of the kingdom. A treaty was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by oaths with uncommon solemnity; but arrangements of this nature were by no means suited to the inclinations and intentions of the Parliament. The very night before the expiration of the prescribed term, a strong party of the rebel horse and foot unexpectedly appeared before Launceston, to which the Cornish had removed not many hours before, and on the next morning hostilities were recommenced. In the mean time the Earl of Stamford advanced against them at the head of nearly seven thousand well appointed troops, with a competent train of artillery, in so full a confidence of overwhelming a force which scarcely amounted to half his number, that even after his arrival on the advantageous eminence which he had chosen for his camp,

he detached twelve hundred of his horse on another enterprize. The intelligence of this magnanimous error had no sooner reached Hopton than he formed his resolution. On the fifteenth of May he marched into the valley beneath Stamford's army, within a mile of which he halted for the night, during which he divided his infantry, not amounting to two thousand five hundred, and stationed them on the four sides of the hill. At five on the following morning they marched simultaneously to the attack, and an irregular engagement ensued, which continued till three in the day, when Hopton was informed that his magazine was reduced to four barrels of powder. He communicated the news secretly to the leaders of the several bodies, and exhorted them to press on in an instant and general assault with the pike and the sword, to which without hesitation they agreed. The command was severally given to march forward, and one soul seemed to animate the whole of this little force. The enemy, as much unused to such desperate courage as to so singular a method of attack, every where gave way; Chudleigh, their Major-General, in gallantly striving to rally them, fell into the hands of the royalists, whose victory was from that moment complete, and the four parties met on the summit of the hill but to possess themselves quietly of the rebels' cannon, and to express their mutual congratulations. This action, one of the most memorable in the course of the war, was called, from the village near which it was fought, " the battle of Stratton."

Almost immediately after this gallant affair Hopton marched into Somersetshire, to meet the Marquis of Hertford, who, with Prince Maurice, had arrived at Chard, with nearly two thousand horse, and a thousand newly-levied infantry. On the junction of the Cornish army with these forces, his command nominally passed to the Marquis, who was General-in-chief, but the direction of all measures was prudently suffered yet to remain in his hands. Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar Castle, surrendered to these combined bodies without striking a blow, and such was

the reputation which Hopton had deservedly acquired, that the Parliament, on hearing that he was thus reinforced, instantly sent against him their favourite General, Sir William Waller, at the head of the most numerous and best appointed army which on either side had yet appeared in the field. The battle of Lansdown succeeded, in which the royalists obtained a hardly-earned victory. Here Hopton received a musquet shot through the arm, and on the following morning, visiting the scene of action, to provide for the wounded, and to restore order among the troops, was cruelly mangled by the explosion of some barrels of powder in a waggon near which he sat on horseback. He was removed, apparently in a dying state, amidst bitter lamentations and outcries; for, to use the words of Lord Clarendon in speaking of this accident, "he was the soldier's darling, and the soul of that army." Their hope however was speedily revived, for not many days after it occurred Hertford marched to Oxford with all the horse, leaving the command of the infantry to him, who then, says Clarendon again, "was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir."

This mischance however prevented him from personally partaking in the succeeding triumph over Waller at Roundway Down. In the mean time the Marquis of Hertford, generously anxious to do him the honour which he had so eminently merited, nominated him to the government of Bristol, which it happened that Prince Rupert, who had lately with distinguished gallantry wrested that town from the rebels by assault, had privately asked of the King for himself. This unlucky accident produced a jealousy and discord between the Prince and the Marquis which even Charles, who made a journey to Bristol especially for that purpose, found himself unable to compose; and Hopton, conscious of the prejudice which a continuance of their disagreement could not but produce to the King's service, not only relinquished his claim to the chief command, but even

solicited the station of Lieutenant-Governor under the Prince, who, on his part, as readily consented to delegate the whole of his authority implicitly to Hopton's discretion. Charles, in whom a cool and just judgement of meritorious services was united to all the impulses of kind and honourable feeling, chose this moment to advance him to the dignity of the peerage. On the fourth of September, 1643, he was created Baron Hopton of Stratton, by a patent, dated at Oxford, in which an epitome, of much larger extent than is generally admitted into such instruments, is given of his eminent services.

He remained at Bristol, slowly recovering his health, till the winter. In the mean time his army, as it was deservedly called, had yet further increased its reputation by new successes in the west, under Prince Maurice, insomuch that the Parliament had determined to leave no means untried to subdue that important quarter. A powerful reinforcement was ordered for Waller, and the King prepared to interrupt him on his march thither by levying a new force from the garrison of Bristol, and from the country adjacent to that town. This service was committed to Hopton, who performed it with his accustomed zeal and activity, and, having been in the mean time joined by considerable bodies of troops from Devonshire and from Ireland, presently collected a force of at least three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, with which, the King having given him the chief command, he fixed his head quarters at Winchester. Waller, his progress having been thus impeded, took possession of Farnham; halted his troops there; and returned himself to London to solicit further aid; while Hopton, whose numbers daily increased, made an excursion into Sussex, and surprised Arundel Castle, from whence, having been apprised of Waller's return strongly recruited, he retraced his steps, but not in time to prevent his adversary, who excelled in what in military language is called beating up quarters, from seizing one of his best regiments at Alton, an out-post of his army. It was the first check that Hopton had

sustained, and inspired him at once with a deep regret, and a desire not less earnest, to bring Waller to a general action. These feelings were within very few days aggravated to the utmost by the event of a successful forced march, through which that active rebel re-took the Castle of Arundel. He speedily returned; Hopton advanced to meet him; and on the twenty-ninth of March, 1644, they engaged at Alresford, and the result, although it had many of the characters of a drawn battle, was pregnant with misfortune to the royal interest. "The King's horse," says Lord Clarendon, "never behaved themselves so ill as that day; for the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves." Hopton, after great loss, relinquished the field to the enemy, carrying off however his cannon and ammunition; retreated to Reading; and soon after joined the King for a short time at Oxford. Lord Clarendon speaks of him elsewhere in terms which seem to be somewhat exemplified in some circumstances of his conduct which have been just now recited. "The Lord Hopton," he says, "was a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the licence and the levities with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted, a virtue that none of the rest had; but in the debates concerning the war was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander-in-chief, which rendered him rather fit for the second than for the supreme command of an army."

He now marched to strengthen his garrison of Bristol, and to draw together such recruits as he might be able to raise in South Wales, and wait for the King's order to join the force commanded by his Majesty in person with as numerous a body of troops as he could collect. He soon after received the commission of General of the Ordnance, and was named one of the Council of six for the

affairs of the Prince of Wales, whose person, the King now sending him to reside in Bristol, was in a manner placed under the especial care of Hopton, from whose purse, so deplorable at this juncture were the King's necessities, the establishment of his Royal Highness was chiefly supplied. His vigilance in the execution of this great trust was as exemplary as the anxieties which surrounded it were intolerable. The Prince had been lately invested with the chief command of the army, and his little court became presently a scene of intrigue, in which himself, young as he was, sometimes took a part. Some officers, and particularly the worthless Lord Goring who aspired to wrest the management of him wholly from his Council, endeavoured with unceasing assiduity to gain his favour. Their plans were naturally cultivated with increased vigour on the frequent occasions of Hopton's necessary absence with the army, and he was the peculiar object of the hatred of some of them, and the jealousy of all, especially when the King, immediately after the fatal defeat at Naseby, appointed him to command the forces, as Lieutenant-General under the Prince. Hopton however was relieved by this commission, because it tended to define with some accuracy the measure of his duties, and to fix the degree of his responsibility. He withdrew himself gradually from all concern, except such as were immediately connected with his military station, in the affairs of the Prince, who had for some time quitted Bristol, and was wandering uselessly in Devonshire and Cornwall with the undisciplined and almost mutinous remnant of the western army, the officers of which were not less disorderly than the men. The appearance of a strong rebel force was daily expected, and the Prince and his Council, in terror for the event, implored Hopton to assume the chief command. "It was a heavy imposition I confess," says Lord Clarendon, "upon the Lord Hopton, to the which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted, to take charge of those whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in

plunder, and resolute in running away." And in this melancholy light was it considered also by Hopton himself, for, as the noble historian soon after tells us, when he accepted, as he did, this unwelcome commission, he observed to the Prince, "that it was a custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say that it was against their honour; that their honour would not suffer them to do this or that: for his part, he could not obey his Highness at this time without resolving to lose his honour, which he knew he must; but, since his Highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his honour."

His judgment proved but too correct. He had barely time to make a feeble attempt to relieve Exeter, then closely besieged, when Fairfax, with ten thousand well disciplined and seasoned troops, overtook him at Torrington, where, with a desperate gallantry, he faced about, and awaited the attack which was to close his long and faithful services. Abandoned, at the first onset of the enemy, by a great part of his army; his horse killed under him, and himself wounded in the face by a pike; he retired with a small party, by Stratton, the scene of his former triumph, into Cornwall; and presently after went to the Isle of Scilly, where the Prince of Wales had lately taken refuge. From thence he shortly after passed over into Flanders, where having long employed himself in unavailing efforts to serve the royal cause, he settled at length in the city of Bruges, and, dying there in the end of September, 1652, his body was carried to Sluys, where it remained unburied till after the restoration of Charles the second, when it was brought to England, and interred at Witham, with those of his ancestors.

Lord Hopton married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Arthur Capel, of Hadham, in Herts, aunt to Arthur, first Lord Capel, and widow of Sir Justinian Lewen, by whom he had no issue. His barony therefore, which had been granted to him and his heirs male, with a like remainder to his uncle, Sir Arthur Hopton, who died

before him also childless, became extinct, and his four sisters succeeded to his estates as his coheirs. They were, Rachel, who married, first David Kemish, or Kemeys, of Kevenmably, in Glamorganshire, and, secondly, Thomas Morgan; Mary, wife of Henry, son and heir of Sir Thomas Mackworth, Bart.; Catherine, married to John Wyndham, ancestor, in the fifth degree, to George, now Earl of Egremont; and Margaret, to . . . . . Throckmorton.

Engraved by P. Lightfoot.

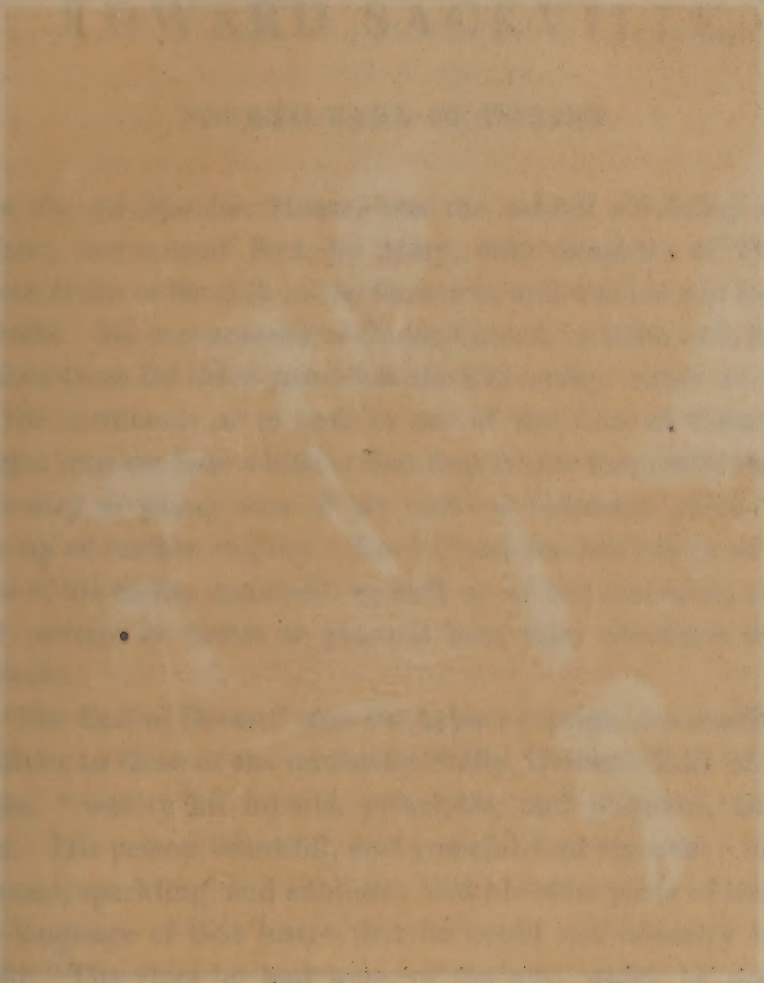
EDWARD SACKVILLE, FOURTH EARL OF DORSET.

OB. 1652.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE LATE DUKE OF DORSET.

London, Published Aug.t 1.1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



EDWARD SACKVILLE,

FOURTH EARL OF DORSET,

Of his old Norman House, was the second surviving son of Robert, the second Earl, by Mary, only daughter of Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk of the Howards, and was born in London in 1590. He was entered of Christ Church in 1605, and, having studied there for three years, left the University, either to travel on the continent, or to seek in one of the Inns of Court that insight into the laws which at that time was so frequently thought necessary to young men of his rank—a contested point, undeserving of further enquiry. Lord Clarendon has left us so full a view of his earlier manhood, as well as of his character, that it will perhaps be better to place it here than elsewhere in this Memoir.

"The Earl of Dorset," says the noble historian, contrasting his qualities to those of the unworthy Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, "was to all intents, principles, and purposes, another man. His person beautiful, and graceful, and vigorous; his wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other parts of learning and language of that lustre that he could not miscarry in the world. The vices he had were of the age, which he was not stubborn enough to contemn or resist. He was a younger brother, grandchild to the great treasurer Buckhurst, created at the King's first entrance Earl of Dorset, who took care and delight in the education of his grandchild, and left him a good support, for a younger brother, besides a wife who was heir to a fair fortune. As his person and parts were such as are before mentioned, so he gave them full scope without restraint, and indulged to his appetite all the pleasures that season of his life (the fullest of

jollity and riot of any that preceded or succeeded) could tempt or suggest to him. He entered into a fatal quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young nobleman of Scotland, the Lord Bruce, upon which they both transported themselves into Flanders, and, attended only by two chirurgions, placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir but upon the fall of one of them, they fought under the walls of Antwerp, where the Lord Bruce fell dead upon the place, and S^{r} Edward Sackville (for so he was then called) being likewise hurt, retired into the monastery which was at hand; nor did this miserable accident, which he always exceedingly lamented, make that thorough impression upon him but that he indulged still too much to those importunate and insatiate appetites, even of that individual person that had so lately embarked him in that desperate enterprize, being too much tinder" (not) "to be inflamed with those sparks. His elder brother did not enjoy his grandfather's titles many years before they descended, for want of heirs male, to the younger brother; but in those few years the elder, by an excess of expence in all the ways to which money can be applied, so entirely consumed almost the whole great fortune that descended to him, that when he was forced to leave the title to his younger brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to support it, which exposed him to many difficulties and inconveniences; yet his known great parts, and the very good general reputation he had acquired, notwithstanding his defects, (for as he was eminent in the House of Commons whilst he sate there, so he shined in the House of Peers when he came to move in that sphere) inclined King James to call him to his Privy Council before his death, and if he had not too much cherished his natural constitution and propensity, and been too much grieved and wrung by an uneasy and streight fortune, he would have been an excellent man of business, for he had a very sharp discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, and great generosity; and of most entire fidelity to the Crown."

The duel here mentioned was so remarkable a fact in his private life, as well as in the history of such personal contests, that though his own account of it has already more than once appeared in print, the present memoir could not but be considered imperfect were it to be omitted. Of the cause of enmity we have no information beyond the hint which we have just now seen, that it arose from amorous jealousy. It had been of many months' standing, A letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, of the ninth of January, 1612, says " there is a quarrel fallen out betwixt Edward Sackville, son to the late Earl of Dorset, and the Lord Bruce of Kinlos, which was to be determined beyond sea. Sackville got over, but the Lord Bruce staid at Dover." It passed however for the time, but, on the sixth of the following May, we find in another letter of Court news to Winwood—" The old quarrel was renewed at Canterbury by the Lord Bruce of Kinlos upon Edward Sackville, at the Prince's being there. My Lord bare away two or three good buffets on the face (for Sackville had no weapon, having given his rapier instantly before to the Palsgrave) and so they were parted, and made friends, by the noblemen that were present. The Lord Bruce is since gone into France; I think to learn to fence." A third, from Paris of the fifteenth of August, to Mr. Trumbull, Resident at Brussels, concludes—" the Lord Bruce is, within these few days departed secretly from hence into the Low Countries, there to meet, and fight, as we understand, with Mr. Sackville, with whom he had a quarrel in England :" and, within a few days after that date, the fatal meeting at length took place. To contract as far as may be such extended quotations, I reluctantly omit four short but interesting letters which passed between the parties immediately previous to the tragedy, and will be presently alluded to, observing only that it must be inferred from one of them that they had once been affectionate friends, and hasten to Sackville's narrative of it, addressed to some person now unknown.

"Worthy Sir,

"As I am not ignorant, so I ought to be sensible, of the false aspersions some authorless tongues have laid upon me in the reports of the unfortunate passage lately happened between the Lord Bruce and myself, which, as they are spread here, so may I justly fear they reign also where you are. There are but two ways to resolve doubts of this nature; by oath, or by sword. The first is due to magistrates, and communicable to friends; the other to such as maliciously slander, and impudently defend their assertions. Your love, not my merit, assure me you hold me your friend, which esteem I am much desirous to retain. Do me therefore the right to understand the truth of that, and in my behalf inform others, who either are, or may be, infected with sinister rumours, much prejudicial to that fair opinion I desire to hold amongst all worthy persons; and, on the faith of a gentleman, the relation I shall give is neither more than less than the bare truth.

"The inclosed contains the first citation, sent me from Paris by a Scottish gentleman, who delivered it me in Derbyshire, at my father-in-law's house. After it follows my then answer, returned him by the same bearer. The next is my accomplishment of my first promise, being a particular assignation of place and weapon, which I sent by a servant of mine, by post from Rotterdam, as soon as I landed there. The receipt of which, joined with an acknowledgement of my too fair carriage to the deceased Lord, is testified by the last, which periods the business till we met at Tergose, in Zeland, it being the place allotted for rendezvous, where he, accompanied with one Mr. Crawford, an English gentleman, for his second, a surgeon, and a man, arrived with all the speed he could. And there having rendered himself, I addressed my second, Sir John Heidon, to let him understand that now all following should be done by consent, as concerning the terms whereon we should fight, as also the place. To our seconds we gave power for their appointments, who agreed

we should go to Antwerp; from thence to Bergenopzoom, where in the midway but a village divides the States' territories from the Archduke's; and there was the destined stage, to the end that, having ended, he that could might presently exempt himself from the justice of the country by retiring into the dominion not offended. It was further concluded, that in case any should fall, or slip, that then the combat should cease, and he whose ill-fortune had so subjected him was to acknowledge his life to have been in the other's hands; but in case one party's sword should break, because that only could chance by hazard, it was agreed that the other should take no advantage, but either then be made friends, or else, upon even terms, go to it again. Thus these conclusions being by each of them related to his party, was by us both approved and assented to. Accordingly we re-imbarked for Antwerp, and by reason my Lord (as I conceive, because he could not handsomely without danger of discovery) had not paired the sword I sent him to Paris, bringing one of the same length but twice as broad, my second excepted against it, and advised me to match my own, and send him the choice, which I obeyed, it being, you know, the challenger's privilege to elect his weapon.

"At the delivery of the swords, which was performed by Sir John Heidon, it pleased the Lord Bruce to choose my own; and then, past expectation, he told him that he found himself so far behindhand as a little of my blood would not serve his turn, and therefore he was now resolved to have me alone, because he knew (for I will use his own words) that so worthy a gentleman and friend could not endure to stand by and see him do that which he must to satisfy himself and his honour. Thereunto Sir John Heidon replied that such intentions were bloody and butcherly, far unfitting so noble a personage, who should desire to bleed for reputation, not for life; withall adding he thought himself injured, being come thus far, now to be prohibited from executing those honourable offices he came for. The Lord, for answer, only reiterated his former resolution, the which, not for matter

but manner, so moved me, as though, to my remembrance, I had not for a long while eaten more liberally than at dinner, and therefore unfit for such an action (seeing the surgeons hold a wound upon a full stomach much more dangerous than otherwise) I requested my second to certify I would presently decide the difference, and therefore he should presently meet me on horseback, only waited on by our surgeons, they being unarmed. Together we rode (but one before the other some twelve score) about two English miles, and then passion, having so weak an enemy to assail as my direction, easily became victor, and, using his power, made me obedient to his command. I, being verily mad with anger the Lord Bruce should thirst after my life with a kind of assuredness, seeing I had come so far, and needlessly, to give him leave to regain his lost reputation, I bad him alight, which with willingness he quickly granted, and there, in a meadow, ancle deep in water at least, bidding farewell to our doublets, in our shirts began to charge each other, having afore commanded our surgeons to withdraw themselves a pretty distance from us, conjuring them besides, as they respected our favour or their own safeties, not to stir, but to suffer us to execute our pleasure, we being fully resolved (God forgive us) to dispatch each other by what means we could.

" I made a thrust at my enemy, but was short, and in drawing back my arm I received a great wound thereon, which I interpreted as a reward for my short shooting, but, in revenge, I pressed in to him, though I then missed him also, and then I received a wound in my right pap, which passed level through my body, and almost to my back. And there we wrestled for the two greatest and dearest prizes we could ever expect trial for, honour and life; in which struggling my hand, having but an ordinary glove on it, lost one of his servants, though the meanest, which hung by a skin, and to sight yet remaineth as before, and I am put in hope one day to recover the use of it again. But at last, breathless, yet keeping our holds, there past

on both sides propositions of keeping each other's sword; but when amity was dead confidence could not live, and who should quit first was the question, which in neither part either would perform; and, re-striving again afresh, with a kick and a wrench together I freed my captived weapon, which incontinently levying at his throat, being master still of his, I demanded if he would ask his life, or yield his sword? both which, though in that imminent danger, he bravely denied to do. Myself being wounded, and feeling loss of blood, having three conduits running on me, began to make me faint; and he courageously persisting not to accord to either of my propositions, remembrance of his bloody desire, and feeling of my present estate, I struck at his heart, but, with his avoiding, missed my aim, yet passed through the body, and, drawing back my sword, repassed it through again, through another place; when he cried 'Oh! I am slain:' seconding his speech with all the force he had to cast me; but, being too weak, after I had defended his assault, I easily became master of him, laying him on his back, when, being upon him, I re-demanded if he would request his life? but it seemed he prized it not at so dear a rate to be beholden for it, and bravely replied he scorned it; which answer of his was so noble and worthy as I protest I could not find in my heart to offer him any more violence, only keeping him down, till at length his surgeon, afar off, cried out he would immediately die if his wounds were not stopped, whereupon I asked if he desired his surgeon should come; which he accepted of; and so, being drawn away, I never offered to take his sword, accounting it inhuman to rob a dead man, for so I held him to be.

"This thus ended, I retired to my surgeon, in whose arms after I had remained a while, for want of blood I lost my sight, and withal, as I then thought, my life also; but strong water, and his diligence, quickly recovered me, when I escaped a great danger; for my Lord's surgeon, when nobody dreamed of it, came full at me with my Lord's sword; and, had not mine, with

my sword, interposed himself, I should have been slain by those base hands; although my Lord Bruce, weltering in his blood, and past all expectation of life, conformable to all his former carriage, which was undoubtedly noble, cried out 'Rascal, hold thy hand.' So may I prosper as I have dealt sincerely with you in this relation, which I pray you, with the inclosed letter, deliver to my Lord Chamberlain: and so, &c.

"ED. SACKVILLE."

It does not appear that any public proceeding was instituted against Sackville, or that he suffered any diminution of the favour of the pacific James, or that the family of the deceased nobleman shewed any disposition to avenge the sanguinary loss of their kinsman. The amiable features of "the age of chivalry" had nearly passed away, but the ferocity of man yet preserved and cherished some of it's worst usages; and the blame of this frightful homicide was rather due to the manners of the time than to the individual fury of the victor.

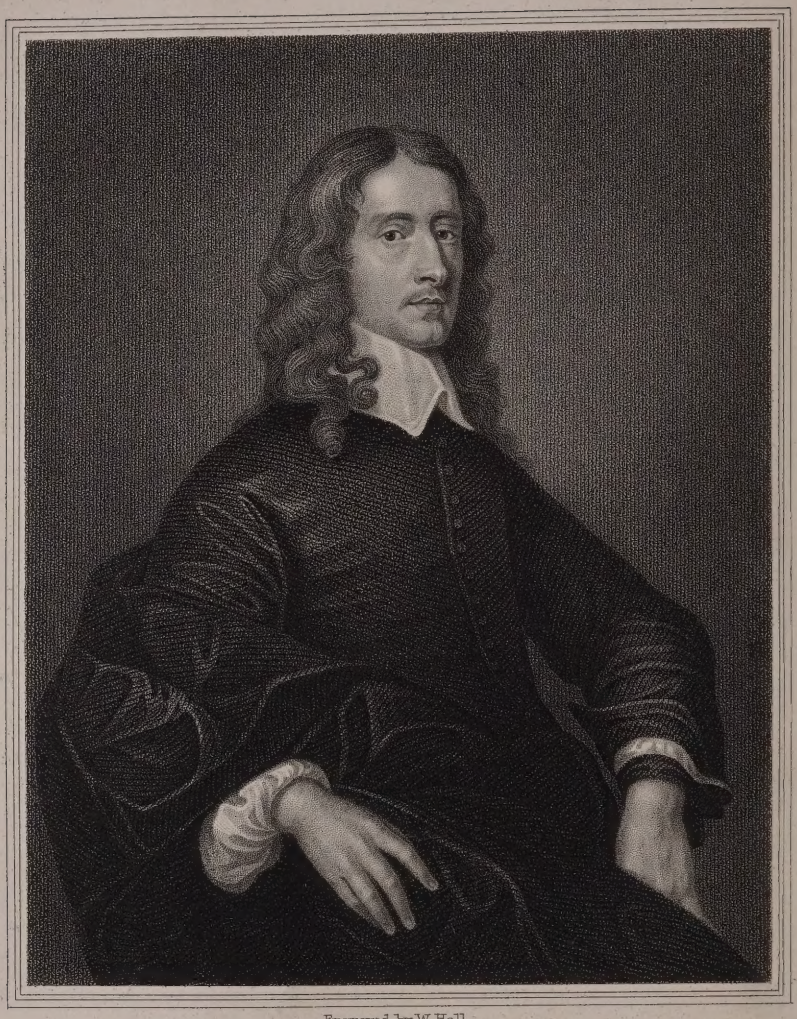
Sackville however had been bred in the cultivation and practice of almost the whole of that beautiful, though irregular, system. Among the rest, he had peculiarly studied the history, the laws and regulations, of dignities, hereditary and personal, in every part of Europe; and such reputation had he in this branch of chivalrous science that in the year 1625, on a question of precedency between the younger sons of Earls, and Privy Counsellors, being Knights, which was thought important enough to be argued in the King's presence, he was chosen by the former class to be their advocate, and it is said that James's decision in their favour was obtained through his sound reasoning and eloquence on a subject with which he was intirely acquainted. He was indeed one of the most accomplished orators of his time in the House of Commons, where he represented the County of Sussex during the most part of James's reign, and was held in yet higher respect for the independence and purity of his principles than for

those ornamental talents which about that time began to find their value in that assembly. Rushworth has preserved one of his speeches, on the subject of supplies for the recovery of the Palatinate, which furnishes striking proofs of both, and affords at least one of the best examples of his day, as well in thought as in expression. He had a command in the forces sent to that unfortunate country in 1620, and fought in the decisive battle of Prague, which occurred in the conclusion of that year; in the summer of the following was employed on a mission to the Queen Regent of France; and on his return was sworn of the Privy Council.

In the spring of 1624, he succeeded to the Earldom, on the death of his brother Richard without male issue, and to an estate impoverished by his imprudence. The accession of Charles immediately followed, when, on the fifteenth of May, 1625, he was chosen a Knight of the Garter, and, on the establishment, immediately after, of her household, was appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the most important office, considered either as to dignity or emolument, ever held by him. He was however always employed in a multiplicity of affairs scarcely worthy of his rank or talents, and yet too important to disgrace either. Thus he was successively joined with others of the Privy Council in commissions to enquire into the causes of the decay of trade; to controul the erection of buildings in the city and suburbs of London; to execute martial law on murderers and robbers in the County of Sussex; to enquire into the state of the King's revenues; to take cognizance of accidents which might occur at sea between the King's subjects and foreigners to the interruption of peace; to examine proceedings in the Court of Admiralty regarding prizes; to survey the arms in the Tower of London; to compound for knighthood; to examine and purchase Sir Robert Cotton's manuscripts; to regulate the fisheries on the English coast; to superintend the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral; to encourage the plantation of the colony of Virginia; with many

others of no higher class in public affairs, if we except a commission issued in January 1627, N. S. to him and others for the supervision of affairs in Ireland; another, in the following month, to treat of an alliance with the States General; and a third, presently after, appointing him one of a standing council of war. For all these services he seems to have received no further permanent reward than grants of the offices of High Steward and keeper of the honour of Grafton; Constable of the castle of Beaumaris; and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex.

This nobleman died on the seventeenth of July, 1652, and was buried with his ancestors at Withiam, in Sussex. We are told, incredibly enough, that on the murther of the King, he made, and kept, a resolution never again to go out of his house. If this be a fable, it proves at least the general reputation at the time of his excessive attachment to his unhappy master, or to the system of government which was overthrown by his death, or to both. He married Mary, daughter and heir of Sir George Curzon, of Croxhall, in Derbyshire, and had issue by her two sons; Richard, lineal ancestor to the Dukes of Dorset; and Edward; and a daughter, Mary, who died young.



Engraved by W. Holl.

JOHN SELDEN.

OB. 1654.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

London, Published Dec.1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN SELDEN.

Mr. Selden was certainly the most learned, and perhaps the most honest Englishman of his time. He was actually a patriot, for his continued efforts to serve his country, however frequently he might have mistaken the means, seem never for a moment to have incurred even a suspicion of selfishness. Wealth, power, and dignities, had been laid at his feet, and refused by him. Firm in his occasional resistance to that royal prerogative, the limits of which no man could so well define as himself; incapable of private resentment for public causes; indifferent to popularity, and despising the hypocritical fanaticism by which it was then the fashion to court it; he stood almost alone, a perfect example of public integrity. His patriotism extended to, and guided even his literary studies. The final object of all his works was to improve the history of the religion, the laws, the government, or the liberties, of his country. In the prosecution of his profound inquiries he disdained conjecture, and avoided argument. Devoted by his nature to the love of truth, he could not rest on his way till he had arrived at facts; and, influenced by the habit of his profession, he considered those only as facts which he could prove by the most rigid evidence. To qualify himself to search for such proofs, even to the remotest sources of intelligence, he had added to the most critical skill in what are usually called the learned languages, an intimate knowledge perhaps of all others which could boast a written alphabet. Some sparks of vanity in the composition of his mind would have placed his fame far beyond that of a few prodigies of learning who have been so frequently celebrated; but he sought not for notoriety, and did not affect either to be absent, or slovenly, or morose, or melancholy. It is perhaps therefore that he may be seldom recollected, while we

talk with much interest of the Florentine Magliabechi, and of others who were very inferior to Selden.

This great man was the eldest son of Thomas Selden, of Salvington, a small village on the Sussex coast, not far from Arundel, who seems to have been of the higher order of yeomanry, and who had probably increased his means by having married Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Baker, of Rustington, a neighbouring parish, descended from an ancient knightly family of the county. Of these parents he was born on the sixteenth of December, 1584. He was sent, very young, to the free school of Chichester, and from thence, at the age of fourteen, to Hart Hall, in Oxford, where he astonished every one by the rapidity with which he mastered all the usual difficulties of academical study. His family, rather perhaps than his own inclination, had destined him for the profession of the law, and he removed therefore, at the end of four years, to Clifford's Inn, and in May, 1604, was admitted of the Inner Temple. Here he soon practised extensively as a chamber counsel, but we scarcely hear of him at the bar, and his absence from it has been attributed to his consciousness of some deficiency of requisite talents, but surely this is very extravagantly conjectured of one who became soon after a frequent speaker in parliament. May it not be ascribed with much more probability to the aversion which might reasonably be expected in such a man to the sophisms and misrepresentations by which an advocate is unhappily so frequently bound to sacrifice truth and justice to the interests of his client? In the intervals which could be spared from the exercise of his profession, he employed himself incessantly in searching into the origin and history of all laws, in all their branches; and, at the age of twenty-two, completed a treatise in Latin on the civil government of Britain, before the coming of the Normans. This work, notwithstanding many errors and omissions, was esteemed a wonderful performance for so young a student, and the approbation with which it was received encouraged him to pursue the

subject, and to enlarge on some detached parts of it, in several tracts, published mostly in the year 1610, under the titles of "Jani Anglorum facies altera;" "England's Epinomis;" and an Essay on single Combat. Nor was his pen then solely confined to antiquities of law, for in 1612 he printed "Notes and Illustrations on the first eighteen Songs of Drayton's Polyolbion," a poem for its historical and other learning worthy of such a commentator.

His acquaintance was now sought by the most eminent literary men of his time. Archbishop Usher knew him so early as 1609, and they contracted an earnest friendship for each other, which continued unimpaired during Selden's life. Camden, Spelman, and Sir Robert Cotton, became his familiar companions. Ben Jonson lived in a strict intimacy with him, and Selden caught from the learned poet rather perhaps an inclination than a taste for English as well as Latin verse, for the few compositions left by him contain nothing very remarkable: though Suckling, unwilling to lose an opportunity of shewing respect to him, has given him a very honourable seat in the "Session of Poets." Perhaps the most favourable specimen of his muse is to be found in a short compliment to the author, prefixed to the Pastorals of William Browne, which I will insert for the sake of presenting this "great dictator of learning of the English nation," as he is called by a German writer, in a character so wide of the course of his usual studies.

So much a stranger my severer muse
Is not to love-strains, or a shepherd's reed,
But that she knows some rites of Phœbus' dues,
Of Pan, of Pallas, and her sister's meed.
Read, and commend, she durst these tun'd essays
Of him that loves her: she hath ever found
Her studies as one circle. Next she prays
His readers be with rose and myrtle crown'd:
No willow touch them! as his bays are free
From wrong of bolts, so may their chaplets be.

J. Selden, Juris C.

In 1614 he published his great work on Titles of Honour, comprehending, without the smallest omission, the history of all ranks in society which have acquired distinct denominations, and tracing them gradually to their original institutions and functions. The vast display of learning, and the exquisite correctness, which distinguish this extraordinary book, spread his reputation throughout the whole of Europe: but he was even then employed in a work of higher erudition—his treatise on the Deities of the ancient Syrians, intended as a commentary on all the passages of the Old Testament relating to the idols of the heathens, and discussing therefore not only the Syrian, but the Arabian, Egyptian, Persian, African, and European idolatry. It appeared in 1617; and in the following year he published his "History of Tythes," in which, without arguing against the divine right by which the Church assumes to hold them, he cited numerous authorities of much weight which tended to invalidate it. The clergy, with good reason, were greatly alarmed, and the King not less offended. James, however, consented to hear his apology personally, and he was introduced for that purpose by Ben Jonson, as is said, and received more mildly than he had expected. The King pointed out some objectionable passages, particularly one, from which it might have been inferred that the twenty-fifth of December was not the true birth-day of our Saviour, and desired Selden to sanction the received opinion on that subject by a small treatise; which, finding nothing in the concession against his conscience, he promised to write, and presented it accordingly to James on Christmas day, which fell shortly after. The storm seemed thus to have blown over; but, within a very few weeks, he was cited before the High Commission Court, which, having exacted from him a submission, though in no very humiliating terms, prohibited the sale of his book; the King, at the same time, forbidding him, under pain of imprisonment, to reply to any of the animadversions which might be written on it.

He was now to take a part in that mighty political scene which was then opening. In 1621, James, having most imprudently asserted in a speech to the Parliament that the privileges of both Houses were originally grants from the Crown, the Lords did Mr. Selden the honour to refer that great question to his opinion, in delivering which he wholly denied the position; at the same time honestly defending the fair prerogative, with more warmth than they either expected or desired. He was consulted on the same occasion, though with less form, by the Commons; and the famous protest made by them, immediately before the dissolution of that Parliament, was attributed not only to his advice, but to his pen. For these facts he was imprisoned, by an order of the Council, of the sixteenth of June, which directed that "no person should be suffered to speak with him; nor should word, message, or writing, be received by him; and that a gentleman of trust should be appointed to remain with him," &c. He immediately addressed to Sir George Calvert, one of the Secretaries of State, the following letter, which, were it only for the cool firmness which it exhibits, certainly deserves a place in this memoir.

Most honored S^{r},

This most unlookt for imprisonm^{t} w^{ch} I now suffer, (but why, on my soule, I cannot guesse) falls in a time when I have divers businesses of private mens' in my hands, and under my direction. The warrant of my commitm^{t} is somwhat strict. My humble suite to yo^{r} Honor is that, through yo^{r} favor, I may have granted to me so much libertie here as that I may have speech wth my friends upon such kinde of business, openly, and in the hearing of those gentlemen who are trusted wth me: and I professe it, on the hope of my salvation, that there is not a seacret that hath, or can possibly have, any reference to the publique touching w^{ch} I desire either to heare or tell any thing, from or to any p$^{\sim}$son living, so cleare is my brest, and I beseech yo^{r} Honor let me be dispatched in the making it appeare. Soe I humblie beseech you

alsoe that my papers, w^{ch} are the labors of many houres, and a greate part of the furniture of my studie in my p$^{\sim}$fession, among which there is nothing that was written for seacret, may be safe. Let me obtain these suites now; and, my lib$^{\sim}$tie once had, w^{ch} I knowe I nev^{r} deserved to loose, I shall expresse me ever humblie at yo^{r} Honor's service.

Jo. Selden.

Notwithstanding this apparent rigour he was liberated at the end of five weeks, at the intercession of the Lord Keeper Williams, a letter from whom to the Duke of Buckingham, to that effect, is extant. During his confinement he prepared for the press the historical work of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, and enriched it by numerous notes; and in the dedication of it to Williams, thanks that Prelate for having procured his release.

In 1623 he was returned a Burgess for the town of Lancaster, and in the Parliaments which were called in the first and second years of Charles the first was elected for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. He had confined himself for four years chiefly to his literary labours, but in the beginning of this reign engaged again with great warmth in politics. He was chosen of the committee for forming articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, and appointed one of the managers at his proposed trial. After the dissolution of the Parliament in which those matters were agitated, he appeared among the firm opposers of the loan which Charles had unhappily been advised to levy on the authority of his prerogative, and pleaded in the Court of King's Bench for Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to submit to it. In the House of Commons he was a speaker on the popular side on all the great questions of that eventful period, and his speeches were regarded as the dictates of an oracle. He became so formidable to the government, that it was resolved to prevent his attendance in Parliament by secluding his person, and, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1628, he was committed to the Tower,

on a charge of having uttered seditious expressions, and attempted to excite contempt against the State. After seven months' confinement, the Judges proposed that he should be released, on giving security for his good behaviour, but he stedfastly rejected the offer. He was then removed to the prison of the King's Bench, and soon after prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for publishing a libel which had been written in the late reign by Sir Robert Dudley, intituled "a Proposition for his Majesty's service, to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments." By the favour of the Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer, he was transferred to a nominal restraint in the Gatehouse, Westminster, and went for nearly three months into the country, at the end of which he was again committed to the King's Bench Prison, and remained there till May, 1631, when he was admitted to bail, that he might be enabled to appear in the Courts, on the matters of a great suit then pending between the heirs of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and afterwards bailed from term to term, till July, 1634, when he was finally discharged; having, for four years together, incessantly solicited in vain for a writ of Habeas Corpus. The literary fruits of this second seclusion were his four treatises on ancient Jewish Law—"De successionibus in Bona Defuncti—De successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum—De Jure naturali et gentium,"—and "Uxor Hebraica, sive de nuptiis ac divortiis."

This rigorous, and indeed illegal, prosecution, neither soured his temper, nor warped the impartiality of his judgment. We find him, even before he was absolutely released, on a Committee of Members of the Inns of Court for the management of the masque to be presented before their Majesties on Candlemas night, 1633; so rendering an agreeable compliment to the King, while he opposed the fanatical Prynne, though a great favourite of his party, who had written outrageously against all dramatic representations. Soon after too he published, at Charles's special desire, his celebrated treatise "Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris," which he had written some years before, in opposition

to the " Mare Liberum" of Grotius. The King, in Council, commanded that copies of this book, the doctrines of which were so important to the interests, as well as flattering to the prejudices, of the country, should be preserved always in the chests of the Privy Council, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Admiralty; and the immediate concession of the Dutch to pay an annual tribute to the Crown of England for their fishery was ascribed in a great measure to the arguments of Selden. The sternness however of his political opinions and practice remained undiminished. In the Parliaments of 1640, and 1641, in which he sat for the University of Oxford, he was among the foremost of those who opposed the Court; joined with vehemence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford; and, perhaps inexcusably, (for who will subscribe to the praise of that Roman virtue which can disdain the ties of private gratitude?) of Archbishop Laud, from whom he had for many years experienced constant friendship and favour. Certainly he was a bitter enemy to the Hierarchy, and the votes which deprived the Bishops of their seats in Parliament, and the clergy in general of all temporal jurisdiction, had the earnest support both of his voice and his pen.

It was at this period, 1642, that the King, then at York, tendered to him the custody of the Great Seal. Charles took this step with the concurrence of those excellent men, Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Falkland, who admired Selden as much for his virtues as for his wisdom and learning.

They entertained a hope that he had lately become somewhat disgusted at the increased violence of his party, for, though he had voted against the King's commission of array, he had supported with much force and warmth of argument the Royal Prerogative as to the Militia; but he declined the offer, by a letter to Lord Falkland, from the terms of which it may be clearly inferred that he had determined never to serve the King separately from the Parliament. Some knowledge of this correspondence got abroad, and a rumour arose that he had engaged

with Edmund Waller, and others, to deliver up London to the King; and Selden, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of his own character, condescended to deny the charge on his oath. He now engaged more deeply with the Parliament party, and in 1643 was chosen one of the lay members of the assembly of presbyterian clergy, and soon after subscribed to that wretched bond of rebellion between England and Scotland which bore the name of "the solemn league and covenant." In the same year he was appointed by the Parliament Keeper of the Records in the Tower; in 1645 one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; and in 1646 the sum of five thousand pounds was voted to him, as a compensation for his sufferings in the public service, but it is said that he refused to receive it.

Amidst the horrors which shortly followed that period, the endeavours of the honest of either party became wholly useless. Mr. Selden had taken his full share in paving the way towards them, but he retired with a clear conscience. While the great mass of his political compeers had been swayed by ambition, vanity, resentment, or avarice, patriotism had been the motive, and the law of the land the index, to his public conduct. He returned with eagerness to his studies, and sat down to commence a work of stupendous erudition which he had long contemplated —"De Synedris et Prefecturis veterum Hebræorum," of which he lived to finish but three books, which were published singly, but at length appeared together in 1679, "which last edition," says Wood, "had divers corrections made, by reason of the many languages, twenty in number, therein." He wrote also, shortly before his death, a biographical and critical preface to "Decem Scriptores Anglicanæ," and "Vindiciæ secundum integritatem existimationis suæ per convitium de scriptione Maris Clausi," in which he detailed many circumstances of his own story. His works which have not been already mentioned here, were Notes on Fortescue de laudibus legum Angliæ, and on the Sums of Sir Ralph Hengham, 1616—Marmora Arundeliàna, &c. 1628—

Discourse on the Judicature of the Peers and Commons, 1640—Answer to Sir Harbottle Grimston's Argument for Bishops, 1641—Discourse on the Rights of the Subject, in a conference between the two Houses, 1642—Privileges of the Baronage in Parliament, 1642—Versio et Comment. ad Eutychii Eccl. Alex. Origines, 1642—De Anno civili et calendario Judaico, 1644, and 1683—Dissertatio Historica ad Fletam—Discourse of the Office of Lord Chancellor—De Nummis—and two treatises, of the Origin of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments, and of Administration to the Goods of Intestates: the five last named were not published till long after his death.

He died on the thirtieth of November, 1654, of a gradual decline, at the Friery House, in White Friers, which he possessed as residuary legatee to Elizabeth (Talbot) Dowager Countess of Kent, with whom, as well as with her Lord, he maintained for many years the strictest friendship. He derived from that Lady other property, to a considerable amount, and had gained much in the exercise of his profession, and having lived a bachelor, and with no disposition to expense, except in the purchasing of books, he died very rich. He had once (according to Burnet, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, who was one of Selden's executors,) bequeathed his curious and extensive library to the University of Oxford, but had in great part revoked the legacy, in anger, because a bond for one thousand pounds had been required of him there, as a security for the loan of a manuscript. He left it therefore in the disposal of his executors, forbidding them however to sell it; and they proposed to bestow it on the Inner Temple, where it actually remained for five years in some chambers hired for the purpose; but the Society having so long neglected to build a room for its reception, the executors finally placed it in the Bodleian Library, where it remains, together with his collection of ancient sculptures, and other antiquities. He was buried, by his own order, in the Temple Church, Archbishop Usher preaching his funeral sermon.

The parliamentary character of Selden was not long since given by an anonymous author, in a periodical paper, in the following terms, the truth, the comprehensive conciseness, and the manly beauty of expression of which, are equally admirable.—" Selden was a member of the long Parliament, and took an active and useful part in many important discussions and transactions. He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a Museum, or great public library, resorted to, as a matter of course, and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council not so much the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages; concerning whom, and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and authority in the decision of questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs."

Engraved by J. Cochran.

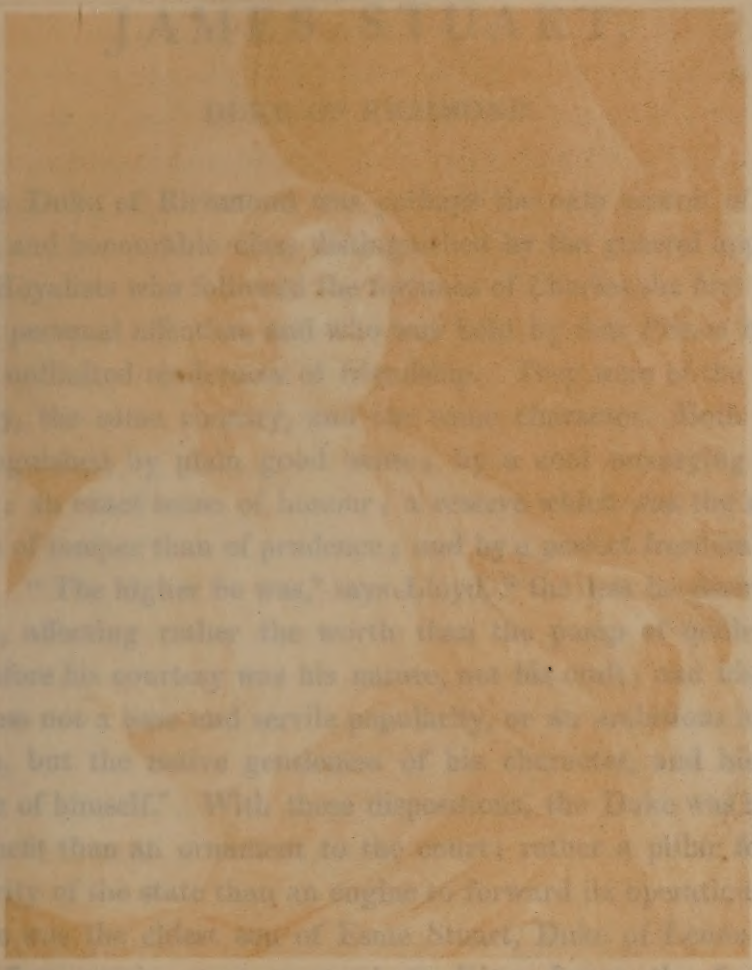
JAMES STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

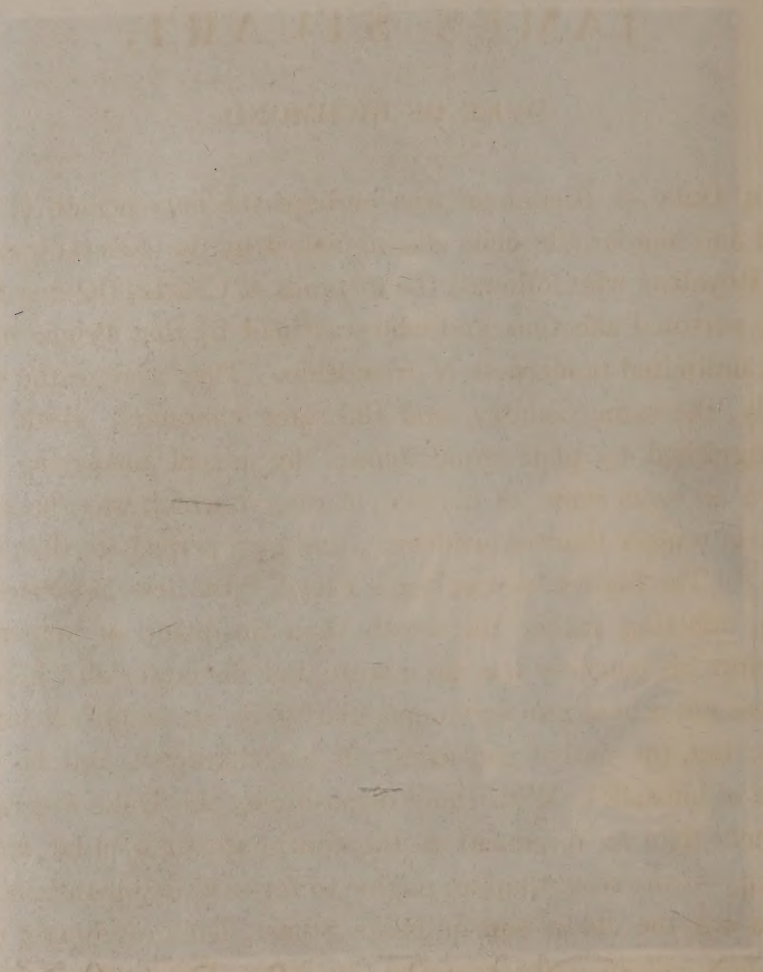
OB. 1655.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY, BART.

London, Published April 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.





JAMES STUART,

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

The Duke of Richmond was perhaps the only person of that great and honourable class distinguished by the general appellation Royalists who followed the fortunes of Charles the first from mere personal affection, and who was held by that Prince in the most unlimited tenderness of friendship. They were of the same family, the same country, and the same character. Both were distinguished by plain good sense; by a cool unvarying integrity; an exact sense of honour; a reserve which was the result more of temper than of prudence; and by a perfect freedom from vice. "The higher he was," says Lloyd, "the less he desired to seem, affecting rather the worth than the pomp of nobleness; therefore his courtesy was his nature, not his craft; and his affableness not a base and servile popularity, or an ambitious insinuation, but the native gentleness of his character, and his true value of himself." With these dispositions, the Duke was rather a benefit than an ornament to the court; rather a pillar for the security of the state than an engine to forward its operations.

He was the eldest son of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox (who was first cousin, once removed, to King James the first) by Catherine, daughter and sole heir of Sir Henry Darcy, of Brimham, in the county of York, and was born on the sixth of April, 1612. His father died in the prime of life, leaving him an infant of the age of twelve years, with six brothers and four sisters; and James, who also died soon after, took them under his special protection, with a degree of distinction which however their kindred to him seemed but justly to challenge. From a family thus in a manner bequeathed by the King to the kindness of his

successor, Charles selected, without neglecting the rest, the young Duke as his favourite child, and a mutual interchange of sympathies, which were all but in fact parental and filial, unfolded gradually into a strict and noble friendship between them. The King took on himself to superintend the completion of his education, and sent him to travel through France, Italy, and Spain, where the distinction of a Grandee of the first class was conferred on him; and, on his return, when scarcely twenty-one years of age, he was called to the Privy Council, and married, by Charles's recommendation, to the only child of the deceased favourite, Buckingham, with whom he received a portion, in those days esteemed very great, of twenty thousand pounds. The offices of Lord Steward of the Royal Household, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, were soon after bestowed on him, together with the Order of the Garter.

Such was his state when the furious commencement of the Long Parliament drew him into the vortex of politics. He became presently an object of jealousy and disgust with the leaders of the popular party in that ominous assembly. In Scotland, where the seeds of discontent had been first sown, he possessed a powerful influence, which he had already opposed, with skill as well as with resolution, to the plans of those of his own rank there who strove to promote division, and had so rendered essential service to the royal cause; but he now declared himself openly in the House of Peers, where he sat as a Baron, an utter enemy to all those concessions which it had been proposed in Parliament to make to his insurgent countrymen, on whose success the fairest hopes of mischief had been founded by the disaffected here. Thus, while he incurred in England the resentment of one faction, he was in Scotland held in universal distrust by another. "He was a man of honour and fidelity," says Lord Clarendon, "in all places, and in no degree of confidence with his countrymen, because he would not admit himself into their intrigues." He was soon assailed in the House of Commons;

and Clarendon, who was then a member of that body, describes thus, in his History of the Rebellion, the motive and method of the attack, which was made just after the death of the Earl of Strafford, and the expedient which he himself used to render it for the time fruitless.

"Their design," says he, "was to remove the Duke of Richmond from the King; both because they had a mind to have his office of Warden of the Cinque Ports from him, that it might be conferred on the Earl of Warwick, and as he was almost the only man of great quality and consideration about the King who did not in the least degree stoop or make court to them, but crossed them boldly in the House, and all other ways pursued his master's service, with his utmost vigour and intentness of mind. They could not charge him with any thing like a crime, and therefore only intended to brand him, and make him odious, by which they presumed they should at last make him willing to ransom himself by quitting that office, for which there was some underhand treaty by persons who were solicitous to prevent further inconveniences, and, as they found any thing like to succeed in that, they slackened or advanced their discourse of evil counsellors. One day they were very warm upon the argument, and had a purpose to have named him directly, which they had hitherto forborn to do, when Mr. Hyde stood up, and said, 'he did really believe that there yet remained some evil counsellors, who did much harm about the King; and that it would be much better to name them than to amuse the House so often with the general mention of them, as if we were afraid to name them. He proposed that there might be a day appointed, on which, upon due reflections upon those who had been most notorious in doing mischief to the public, we might most probably find out who they were who trod still in the same paths, and name them accordingly; and that, for his part, if a day were appointed for that discovery, he would be ready to name one who, by all the marks we could judge by, and by his former course of life, might very

easily be believed to be an evil counsellor.' They were exceedingly apprehensive that he meant the Marquis of Hamilton, who was very dear to them; and thenceforward, though they desisted not from prosecuting the Duke till at last they had compelled him to quit the Cinque Ports to the Earl of Warwick, they no more urged the discovery of evil counsellors; and all the familiar friends of Mr. Hyde were importuned to move him not to endeavour to do any prejudice to the Marquis of Hamilton."

The same historian furnishes us with another anecdote, which, while it relates to the Duke, will serve to shew how little the privileges of Parliament were then understood, or at least valued, by the members of both Houses, or how ready the popular party was to sacrifice madly those privileges to the hatred of the King and his friends. Upon the proposal of some matter in the House of Lords which was not agreeable to that party, many of them, in a tumultuous manner which was not then usual in either House of Parliament, cried "adjourn, adjourn;" on which the Duke of Richmond, without addressing himself to the chair, was overheard to say to some around him, that, if they would adjourn, he wished it might be for six months. These words, so uttered, were interpreted to be a regular motion, which, had they been so, would have been but strictly parliamentary; and it was immediately determined that the House should not rise, and that "the Duke should explain himself, and answer the making such a motion as, being granted, would be destructive to the commonwealth." The Duke said that "he had made no motion, but used that expression to shew his dislike of the other motion, to adjourn; and that when he spoke, all men being on their feet, and out of their places, he conceived that the House had been up." He was, however, required to withdraw, and, at the conclusion of a fierce debate of many hours, it was resolved, by a small majority, that he had committed no offence, against which vote several Peers entered their protest. But the matter ended not there. On the following day it was taken up in the House

of Commons with the greatest fury, and, after one of the longest discussions ever known there, it was determined that they should accuse the Duke of Richmond to the Lords as " one of the malignant party, and an evil counsellor to his Majesty, and should desire them to join in a request to the King that he might be removed from any office or employment about his Majesty's person." The Peers tamely and patiently received the proposition, which was delivered with much solemnity, and testified no further resentment at so monstrous a breach of their privileges than by silently forbearing to take the matter into their further consideration.

On the eighth of August, 1641, the King conferred on him the title of Duke of Richmond, which had been by James the first revived in his uncle, Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, and had become extinct by that nobleman's death without issue; and the next day he set out towards Scotland with Charles, who had probably chosen that precise time to raise him to the highest rank of the English Peerage as a compliment to his country, which might, considering the character of that people, be agreeably received there, even by the party which he opposed. A few weeks after his return the war commenced, in the very outset of which he was one of the eleven eminent persons whom the Parliament proscribed by name in their instructions to the Earl of Essex, their general. He placed three of his brothers, two of whom had then scarcely attained to manhood, in the royal army, and they were all engaged in the battle of Edgehill, the first action that occurred, in which the eldest, who was called Lord Aubigny, was killed, as were afterwards the Lord John Stuart, at the battle of Alresford, and the Lord Bernard, (who, for his admirable gallantry, had been created Earl of Lichfield,) at Chester. The Duke himself remained constantly about the King's person, which was, in fact, his proper station in those miserable times; not so much for the office which he held in the royal household, as for that perfect affection and fidelity which rendered his presence at once a consolation and a security to his afflicted master.

In 1644 he was placed at the head of the council then appointed by the King for the government of the Prince of Wales, and was in the following year named first commissioner for the treaty of Uxbridge, in the course of which he gave ample proofs that he was by no means deficient in the best qualities of a statesman, as indeed he had before in the negotiations at Oxford, and with the Scottish commissioners in London. He persevered in his attendance on Charles, till his Majesty, without communicating the design even to him, fled from Oxford on the twenty-seventh of April, 1646, to throw himself into the arms of the Scots; and from thenceforth the Duke saw him no more till he was a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, when, at the King's special desire, he was permitted by the rebels to resume, for a short time, the performance of his personal duties. The next request, on the behalf of what remained of royalty in the land, which they granted more reluctantly, was made by himself—to be allowed to lay in the grave the mangled remains of his beloved sovereign, to save whose life he had solemnly offered the vicarious sacrifice of his own. That sad office performed, he retired into utter privacy, and died, as has been said with great probability, of the gradual effects of grief, on the thirtieth of March, 1655, leaving an only son, Esme, who succeeded to his titles, and died in France, aged about ten years, in 1660; and an only daughter, Mary, married to Richard Butler, Earl of Arran, second son of James, Duke of Ormond.

Lord Clarendon tells us that " he was a man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding, yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself that he was sometimes led by men who judged much worse. He was of a great and haughty spirit, and so punctual in point of honour that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a resignation of himself to the King that he abhorred all artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those who, how powerful soever, failed in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice

by them, as one that would have no quarter upon so infamous terms as but looking on while his master was ill used. As he had received great bounties from the King, so he sacrificed all he had to his service as soon as his occasions stood in need of it, and lent his Majesty at one time twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service, in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived with unspotted fidelity some years after the murther of his master; and was suffered to put him into his grave, and died without the comfort of seeing the resurrection of the Crown."

Dr. Birch, in giving some account of the life of this nobleman, has fallen, which was not usual with him, into many gross errors. He states that the Duke succeeded to the dukedom of Richmond on the death of his father, who never had that title; and accommodates that mistake to another, by fixing the date of his father's death, which happened in 1623, to 1640. He speaks too of the offices of Lord Chamberlain, and High Admiral, of Scotland, as having been conferred on the subject of this memoir by King Charles the first, when they were in fact hereditary, or, to use the Scottish term, heretable, in his family: they devolved on him necessarily, therefore, with his title of Duke of Lenox. There is a tradition that the Duke, when on his travels, was preserved from assassination by a favourite dog which lay in his chamber, and aroused him from his sleep; and it is added, that his master from that time distinguished him by a collar set with pearls. It is scarcely enough to say that the picture which is here engraved seems strongly to allude to the circumstance in question; for the age at which the Duke is represented, the singularity of his dress, or rather undress, the dog, and the pearled collar, combine to tell, hieroglyphically, nearly the whole of the story. Nothing is wanting but the assassin, who may be supposed to have fled.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

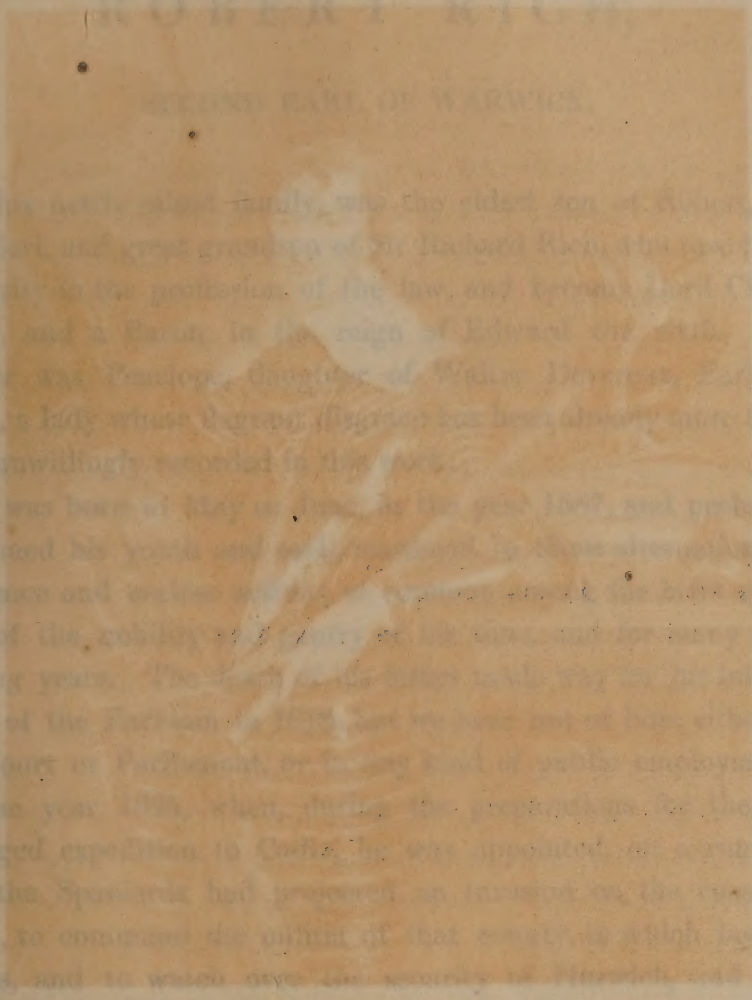
ROBERT RICH, EARL OF WARWICK.

OB.1658.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

London Published Nov^r 1.1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



ROBERT RICH,

SECOND EARL OF WARWICK,

Of his newly raised family, was the eldest son of Robert, the first Earl, and great grandson of Sir Richard Rich, who rose from obscurity in the profession of the law, and became Lord Chancellor, and a Baron, in the reign of Edward the sixth. His mother was Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, a lady whose flagrant disgrace has been already more than once unwillingly recorded in this work.

He was born in May or June, in the year 1587, and probably consumed his youth and early manhood in those alternations of indolence and useless activity so common among the heirs apparent of the nobility and gentry of his time, and for many succeeding years. The death of his father made way for his inheritance of the Earldom in 1618, but we hear not of him, either in the Court or Parliament, or in any kind of public employment, till the year 1625, when, during the preparations for the ill-managed expedition to Cadiz, he was appointed, on a rumour that the Spaniards had projected an invasion on the coast of Essex, to command the militia of that county, in which lay his estates, and to watch over the security of Harwich, and the neighbouring ports. A blank of several years now again occurred in his history, during which he attached himself to the puritans, and indulged, as they gradually became dangerous, a growing ambition to be considered as their leader. He attained to that honour, such as it was, and "was looked upon," as Lord Clarendon informs us, "as their greatest patron, because of much the greatest estate of all who favoured them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration, though he was of

a life very licentious, and unconformable to their professed rigour, which they rather dispensed with than they would withdraw from a House where they received so eminent a protection, and such notable bounty."

This sort of influence, together with a cool head, and a persevering disposition, recommended him powerfully to the republican party, whose confidence he presently obtained, and in whose measures he joined with a sudden alacrity, and even violence, which induced unfounded suspicions that he had engaged himself in some deep specific design against the state. In 1640 therefore, soon after the dissolution of the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, his house, and even his pockets, were searched, by Sir William Becher, a clerk of the Privy Council, under a warrant from the Secretary of State, in expectation of finding treasonable papers. This imprudent measure, especially as it proved fruitless, naturally increased his rancour, and was taken up with great warmth at the meeting of the Long Parliament, when Becher was committed to the Fleet for a high breach of privilege. He was among the most eager of the Peers in the prosecution of Strafford and Laud, and when the King, in the hope perhaps of abating the danger which threatened those great men, as well as of calming the popular fury, shortly after admitted eight of the noble malcontents at once into his Privy Council, Warwick was of the number. His favour with the party now increased daily. When the Parliament adjourned for six weeks, on the ninth of September, 1641, each House appointing a small committee, in fact for the government of the country during the recess, he was one of those who were placed in that station by the Peers; and, on the twenty-eighth of the following March, the Commons, by a formal message to the Upper House, required its concurrence in a request to the Earl of Northumberland, who commanded the Fleet, and was then unable, from long illness, to attend that duty, that he would appoint Warwick his Vice Admiral for the year's service, and also to the latter that he would

undertake it. The Lords had then grace enough to refuse, unless the King's approbation should be previously obtained; on which the Commons made the motion singly to the Lord High Admiral, who, unwilling to be drawn into a contest with his Sovereign, by whom he had already been informed, through the Secretary of State, that he had named another officer, persuaded them to join with the Peers in a message to his Majesty, demanding the appointment for Warwick, which the King refusing, the two Houses proceeded to grant the commission, in contempt of the royal authority and declared inclination, as well as of the constitution, to the integrity and purity of which they pretended such devout attachment and veneration.

He entered on the command, but with some doubt of the obedience of his captains. He assembled them therefore on his arrival at the Fleet, and sounded them in a hypocritical address, in which he endeavoured to persuade them of the validity of his commission, on the ground that the Parliament was the only proper organ of communication between the King and his subjects. Five were bold enough to demur, and he employed their respective crews to force them to compliance, when three submitted, and the other two were brought prisoners to him by their own men. In the mean time Charles dismissed the Earl of Northumberland, and made a feeble effort to appoint a successor, while the Parliament triumphantly placed Warwick in the exalted post of Lord High Admiral of England. "In consideration of his great disbursements in the public service," a tenth of all prizes was allotted to him, and, by a vote which speedily followed, he was appointed Governor in chief of all the English plantations in America.

Steps were taken about this time to raise a new army, to be placed independently under his command, and a commission to that effect was actually delivered to him, but the rebels changed their purpose, and the troops already embodied were added to Essex's army. This probably arose from a resolution secretly

taken by them to propose that well known regulation called "the self denying Ordinance," which would have deprived the Earl of his newly acquired command, as it did, in April, 1645, of his office of Lord High Admiral. On the tenth of that month he made his resignation by presenting a written paper to the House of Peers, in which, among other expressions of the same character, he told them that "his highest ambition was to contribute his best endeavours for the service of the Parliament, and that he was resolved to stand or fall with them in the upholding of God's truth, and the public liberty, knowing well, by many years' experience, that the welfare of the kingdom could not subsist without God's blessing in the preservation of the Parliament." The office of High Admiral was now put into commission, and, the self denying ordinance having no prospective influence, as its sole purpose was to exclude certain persons from each House, he was appointed a commissioner: and now the Parliament, or at least one of the Houses, proposed to give him the most lasting and brilliant mark of approbation within the scope of their usurped power; for, in the following December, it was "voted," for such is the term used, that several of the most conspicuous among the rebels should be exalted to titles of peerage, among whom himself, and the Earls of Northumberland, Essex, and Pembroke, were to be created Dukes. Whitelock, the only writer I believe who has recorded this resolution, makes no subsequent mention of it, and so leaves us ignorant of the impediments which prevented it from taking effect.

In April, 1647, he was included in a commission issued by the Parliament with a view of persuading the army to undertake the reduction of Ireland; and, towards the end of the succeeding month, in another, appointed to assist Fairfax in an ineffectual attempt to disband the many regiments which had mutinously rejected that service. Two months however had scarcely passed when he fled, with many other seceders from both Houses, to seek the protection of that mutinous army, then encamped on

Hounslow Heath, against the tumultuous mob of London, which had suddenly besieged the Parliament. From this secession may be traced the gradual decay of the authority of that assembly, and the more rapid exaltation of the military power which followed; nor is it extravagant to suppose that Warwick's conduct on the occasion was dictated by a secret inclination to forward both; for he had of late attached himself with earnestness to Cromwell, with whom from this period he ever after lived in the strictest intimacy and apparent confidence, and with whose family, as we shall see presently, he soon after connected his own.

When a part of the fleet revolted to the Crown, and took on board the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, on the coast of Holland, in May, 1648, he was by a vote of Parliament again appointed High Admiral, and sailed in pursuit of those ships, which lay in the Downs. The Prince's advisers determined to resist, and, while the parties were in sight of each other, and preparing for action, the Prince wrote to him, by Mr. Henry Seymour, inviting him to return to his allegiance; and Warwick replied, but in respectful terms, by beseeching his Highness "to put himself into the hands of the Parliament; and that the ships with him might return to their obedience, upon which they should be pardoned for their revolt." A second message from the Prince, to the purpose of the former, produced a similar answer, and his Royal Highness's ships immediately weighed anchor, and sailed to the attack; when, a sudden change of wind having prevented it, and driven them out to sea, it was determined to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which never offered, for the revolters presently after began to join Warwick gradually, and, before the end of a month, the Parliament sent him a vote of thanks for having recovered them. In the mean time however his late intercourse with the Prince had drawn some suspicion on him, or at least tended to increase doubts which had been previously entertained. Lord Clarendon indeed affirms that he was about

this time in secret intelligence with his brother, the Earl of Holland, on a design in which that unworthy nobleman, after repeated tergiversations, had engaged on the part of the Crown, and for which he soon after lost his head; nor is it improbable that Warwick might have so acted with the concurrence of his friend Cromwell, who it is well known was just at that period undetermined whether to sacrifice to his ambition the King or the Parliament, both equally and completely in his power. Whitelock tells us that, in the December following, the two Houses received "letters from Warwick, and a declaration in vindication of himself, and the scandal cast upon him by a false pamphlet, and lying report that he resolved to join the Prince, in case the treaty took not effect," meaning the treaty with the King, then in progress, in the Isle of Wight.

It is at all events certain that on the twenty-first of February, in the succeeding year, his commission of High Admiral was revoked by the Parliament, in consequence of a report from what was called the Council of State, and an Act passed to appoint commissioners for the direction of the Fleet. Of the particulars of his conduct under the spurious governments which followed the murther of the King no memorials have been preserved. We know only that he was one of the few noblemen who condescended to sit in the Usurper's mock House of Lords, and that he had the credit, or discredit, of being considered during the remainder of his life as one of the chief advisers of that prodigy of good fortune, talents, and wickedness. Lord Clarendon has left us this summary of his character, and of part of his life—"The Earl of Warwick was of the King's Council, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well served, nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that honour, which he knew was conferred upon him in the croud of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to trust, so his business was to join with those to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation; of an universal

jollity; and such a licence in his words and in his actions that a man of less virtue could not be found out; so that one might reasonably have believed that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But, with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people who in the beginning of the troubles did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers, in the time when there was an authority to silence them, and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them; and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party, and got the style of a godly man. When the King revoked the Earl of Northumberland's commission of Admiral, he presently accepted the office from the Parliament, and never quitted their service; and when Cromwell disbanded that Parliament he betook himself to the protection of the Protector; married his heir to his daughter; and lived in so entire a confidence and friendship with him that when he died he had the honour to be exceedingly lamented by him. He left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion."

The Earl of Warwick died on the eleventh of April, 1658, and was buried at Felsted, in Essex. He married twice, first, to Frances, daughter and heir to Sir William Hatton, alias Newport, by whom he had four sons, of whom Robert, the eldest, succeeded to the titles and estates, and had an only son, Robert, who married Frances, youngest daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and died before his father; Charles, the second, to whom they fell on the demise of his brother Robert; Henry, and Hatton, who died unmarried; and also three daughters; Anne, married to Edward, Lord Mandeville, son and heir to Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester; Lucy, to John, Lord Robartes, afterwards created Earl of Radnor;

and Frances, to Nicholas Leke, second Earl of Scarsdale. The Earl of Warwick's second lady was Eleanor, daughter of Sir Edward Wortley, of Wortley, in Yorkshire, and relict of Sir Henry Lee, of Quarendon, in Bucks, Bart. It is stated too, but rather dubiously, in some authorities that he had a third wife, Susanna, daughter of Sir Henry Row. He appears however to have left no issue but by his first lady.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

OB. 1658.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF WALKER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL SPENCER.

London, Published Dec^r 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

It may seem strange, and more especially in times of the complexion of those in which we live, that the character of this remarkable person should have been suffered to find its own level in unbiassed judgement: that no flowery whig pen has yet attempted to varnish it with eulogies: nay, that even the fierceness of democracy has not furnished a single champion to bedaub it with coarse and plain-spoken praise: if Cromwell went too far in the pursuit of his plans of reform for the more delicate taste of the one, he certainly went quite far enough to gratify amply the appetite of the other. The cause of these omissions is twofold: first, the absence of any one positive virtue in the man, as well as of any form of that heroically splendid generosity, real or affected, which too frequently serves to lessen the deformity of wickedness; and, secondly, the embarrassment into which such panegyrists must have been thrown by contemplating the obsolete engine which he chiefly employed in his great work; for how could they who seek to overthrow the state by decrying Christianity itself celebrate him who made a semblance of fanatical zeal for that faith his stalking horse for the accomplishment of the same end? But this is not all. Even they who may be fairly supposed to have the largest and most general interest in whitewashing his fame have shrunk hopeless from the task. The anxiety, perhaps more amiable than prudent, of a descendant has of late put forth a large cento of quotations from abundance of writers, good and bad, well-known and obscure, under the title of "Memoirs," &c.; but they are urged merely in negative apology, and aim only at relieving his memory somewhat of the burthen of certain heavy charges, without making a single effort

to adorn it by bringing forward any redeeming merit. We shall seek in vain for any other estimable qualities in Cromwell's character than judgement, courage, and decision, and these he perverted to the worst purposes.

He sprung from a very ancient and highly allied family of the county of Huntingdon, of which his father, Robert Cromwell, was a younger son, who relieved the scantiness of his patrimony by engaging in the trade of a brewer. His mother was a daughter of Sir Richard Stewart, a knight of the city of Ely, who had been before married to William Lynne, of Bassingbourne, Cambridgeshire, and of these persons he was born in Huntingdon on the twenty-fifth of April, 1599. He received his education in the free school of that town, and in Sidney College, Cambridge, which he is said to have left with small reputation for learning, and to have been soon after sent to London, and placed to study the law in Lincoln's Inn, in the books of which society however, as we are informed in the "Memoirs" above referred to, his name is not to be found; yet the fact has been so universally stated that it almost defies doubt, and we may strengthen those reports by adding to them a tradition hitherto unpublished which still prevails there, that he inhabited the chambers over the gateway into Chancery-lane. Such traditions seldom err; but not to dwell on that question, he certainly became a resident in London about the age of eighteen, and is recorded to have led there a life altogether dissolute, for which he could not plead in apology the usual warmth and vivacity of youth, for his nature was morose and saturnine, and he was subject to those reveries and fits of melancholy which usually occur to persons of that temperament. His marriage however, which happened before he was fully of age, suddenly reclaimed him, and he settled in his native town, from whence, after some years, he removed to the Isle of Ely, and to the possession of a decent estate, which had been bequeathed to him by a maternal uncle. This, however, as well as his own little patrimony, he in great measure dissipated,

and sought to repair the deficiency by engaging in agriculture in the neighbourhood of St. Ives, as is said, with little success.

He had been bred in the profession of the established faith, and practised it with apparent devotion till some years after his marriage, when he embraced puritanism, and presently became distinguished as a teacher of the first order; nor is it improbable, as a reputation of that sort is always somewhat dearly purchased by persons of any property, that he might have squandered his fortune, as well as his time, in supporting the temporal interests of the schism which he had thus adopted. He received however some compensation by obtaining a seat through the influence of his new brethren, in the short Parliament which met in 1628, and was chosen of the committee for affairs of religion, in which he distinguished himself by the bitterness and violence with which he denounced every trace of Popery which had been suffered to remain in the doctrine or discipline of our Church. After the dissolution of that Parliament, he returned again to the country, where for some years we have no intelligence of him, till he placed himself at the head of a party there against the Earl of Bedford's magnificent scheme of draining and embanking, which he opposed and obstructed with all the resolution and obstinacy which belonged to his character. At length the well-known John Hampden, who was his first cousin, convinced that he possessed the sort of talents and temper peculiarly necessary to the political support of himself and his faction, drew him from his retirement, and he was returned to the Long Parliament at its general election.

Hampden had judged rightly. Cromwell commenced his career in that assembly with a uniformity of virulent opposition and calumny towards all the acts of the Court and the ministry, as well as several of the ancient and established public institutions —a conduct which, however familiarized to us of later days, had till then been unknown in Parliament. The novelty of this, joined to the unusual coarseness and vehemence with which he

commonly addressed the House, and to a show of simple frankness which looked like honesty, presently gained him the attention of all, and soon after the friendship and attachment of many. A small picture of him at that precise period, left to us by Sir Philip Warwick, though chiefly relating to exterior, yet not without reference to those facts, is too lively and glowing to be omitted in this place. "The first time," says Sir Philip, "that I ever took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly imagined myself a courtly young gentleman. I came one morning into the House, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily appareled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor: his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hatband: his stature was of good size: his sword stuck close to his side: his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen, for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council Table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened very much my reverence for that great Council, for he was much hearkened unto."

The truth is (and here again he was a political prototype) that his views at that time in assuming there the character of a seditious demagogue extended no further than to the retrieval of his desperate fortunes. He had neither distinct plan nor inclination for the public benefit. When pressed by the honest Warwick, who soon after became acquainted with him, and by some other members, to declare the objects of his exertions, particularly with regard to the Church, which he incessantly attacked, he

answered, with less caution than was usual with him, "I know what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have." The success of his endeavours approached too tardily for his impatient spirit, and he became desperate. He formed at length the secret resolution to rest it on a single cast—the fate of that unhappily memorable remonstrance which was voted in the Commons, by a very small majority, on the fourteenth of November, 1641; for as soon as the House had risen, he told Lord Falkland that if the question had been otherwise decided, he would the next day have sold the remnant of his estate, and quitted the kingdom, never to return. The part which he had taken in the great debate of that day fixed his importance in the minds of the leading malcontents, and they now admitted him into their most private councils. He began to feel his own strength, and soon afterwards his superiority, and proved both by some successful efforts against certain persons among themselves whom he disliked.

The war broke forth in the following year, when he received a captain's commission from the Earl of Essex; went to Cambridge; and in that neighbourhood raised a troop of horse, with which he persecuted the University; and afterwards into Hertfordshire, where he seized the high Sheriff, with the King's proclamation in his pocket, declaring Essex and his army rebels, and brought him prisoner to London, where he received the thanks of the House of Commons. He marched presently into Suffolk, and surprised and captured the principal gentlemen of that and some adjacent counties, at Lowestoffe, where they had met to consider of the best means of serving the King's cause, besides possessing himself of abundance of arms, ammunition, and money. His force had now increased to one thousand horse, and he bore the title of colonel. His discipline, his courage, his activity, his minute attention to every circumstance which the service that he had now undertaken involved, astonished both armies. The spendthrift country gentleman, the fanatical teacher,

the popular declaimer, had become a consummate soldier, as it were by intuition.

Such was the commencement of his military life, the progress of which is so well known that it would be impertinent to detail it here at any length. After distinguishing himself in several exploits in Lincolnshire and its borders, he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Horse in that army, the nominal command of which the Parliament had given to the Earl of Manchester, while it invested Cromwell with all the active authority. He led it, in the spring of 1644, in a march of surprizing rapidity, to meet the Scottish army which had agreed to aid the rebellion, and joined it in besieging York, the reduction of which was speedily followed by the battle of Marston Moor, where the signal defeat of the King's forces has been ascribed chiefly to his gallantry and skill. In the second battle of Newbury, which occurred in the same year, himself and his troops fought with uncommon desperation, and, in a remarkable charge on the royal guards, had nearly seized the King's person. While these events were passing, his friends were not less busily employed in London. His successes, his sagacity, and his intrigues, had combined to place him at the head of a faction in Parliament, which, in contradistinction from the comparatively innocent presbyterians, who had unwittingly acted as its pioneers in the rebellion, called itself "the Independents." The former party, many of whom had engaged in the mischief of the time from honest, however mistaken motives, observed, with well founded dread, its growing importance, and attempted to nip it in the bud. Manchester exhibited articles of accusation in the House of Peers against Cromwell, who repelled the blow by levelling a counter-charge at him in the Commons; but neither was in the end prosecuted, each party probably then doubting its own strength. The independents however became daily more formidable, and shortly after effectually triumphed in passing that measure, so fatal in its results to every prospect of peace and

order, which obtained the name of "the self-denying Ordinance," because it prohibited the members of the two Houses of Parliament from holding any offices, civil or military. It is scarcely necessary to say that its aim was directed chiefly to the latter. Essex, Manchester, Sir William Waller, the Earl of Warwick, who was the Parliament Admiral, and indeed all the commanders of any note under the original scheme of the rebellion, were thus at a stroke cashiered; while Cromwell, and such of his peculiar confidants as were members, after having received, for form's sake, some occasional individual dispensations, were at length specially excepted from the operation of the act. The army was in this manner, to use the phrase of the time, new-modelled; Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed Commander-in-Chief; and Cromwell, raised to the rank of his Lieutenant-General, was in fact placed at its head.

The almost uninterrupted tide of success which now attended his enterprises is scarcely to be paralleled in military history. In twelve months' almost incessant fighting he met with but two insignificant checks. The succeeding battle of Naseby, so fatally decisive of the King's very hopes, the critical hour for which was adopted by Fairfax at his suggestion, crowned his fame. He availed himself with equal prudence and gallantry of the many advantages which that victory had thrown in his way, and at length returned to the Parliament, where the two parties of which it was composed, by the one of which he was now hated, and by the other already distrusted, loaded him with adulation and wealth; himself, with equal sincerity, ascribing his endeavours wholly to his devotion towards them, and his successes to the special favour of providence to a righteous cause. The unfortunate Charles now threw himself into the hands of the Scots, who sold him to his rebel Parliament, and it was presently argued in that body that, as the war must be in some way concluded by that event, it would be advisable to relieve the people by disbanding at least a part of the army, of which they had now, with ample

reason, become jealous. This motion, so adverse to his views, Cromwell not only parried with exquisite address, but contrived to turn it to his advantage; for, while he intrigued successfully to confine the reduction to certain regiments whose affection to himself he suspected, he conveyed insinuations to the rest of the army of the ingratitude of the Parliament towards them, and of the proof of his affection for them which his successful interference in their favour had manifested. At this precise juncture, while each party was acutely, and perhaps equally, sensible of its critical position, the Parliament, which terror had now inspired with a true desire to restore some sort of order, meditating the mockery of treaties with their captive King, and the independents little less agitated by their fears for their interests and even personal safety, than by their abhorrence of monarchy under any modifications; Cromwell boldly turned the scale, and decided the fate of the kingdom—He seized the person of Charles; and from that moment, the Parliament, as well as the King, was in the power of the army.

The subtlety of his conduct at this critical epoch was equalled only by the treachery of his intentions. The unhappy Prince was treated with profound reverence, and actually submitted to be persuaded that Cromwell meant to compose all differences, and to restore him on favourable conditions to his throne. To complete this deception, the army was made to send an address to the Parliament, declaring their determination to make common cause with the King, and their opinion that all endeavours to settle the nation would be fruitless while he was debarred of his just rights; Cromwell, in the same hour, publicly professing that his earnest attachment to the ascendancy and privileges of Parliament had rendered him unpopular with the military. His agents were now directed to sift the disposition of the populace of the city, which was found to incline to the army. The Houses were besieged by crowds, and a number of young ruffians, calling themselves apprentices, forced their way into the Commons, which they

actually compelled to pass certain votes in their presence. In the mean time the army had set up a sort of Parliament for the management of its own affairs, composed of a committee of troopers, and another of officers, formally elected by the several regiments, to whom they gave the name of agitators; and Cromwell, who had connived at this, with the view of over-awing the King and the Parliament, affected to consider them as mutinous assemblies, and to expect dreadful consequences from the alleged insubordination, which he insinuated that he durst not endeavour to subdue by any summary measures. These persons presently resolved, and publicly declared that the army would not submit to be disbanded, and dispatched a sturdy remonstrance to the Parliament. Cromwell now proceeded to purge, as it was called, the House of Commons; eleven of its leading presbyterian members, all original instigators of the rebellion, were impeached by himself and those of his creatures who had seats, and fled for their lives. The two Speakers sought refuge with the army, which was then advancing slowly towards London, and which, arriving there a few days after, replaced them, and marched triumphantly through the city, led by Fairfax, who had sunk gradually into a passive instrument in the hands of his Lieutenant-General.

The King, who had been for sometime a prisoner at large, now withdrew himself privately, with what view or hope has never been clearly ascertained, from Hampton Court, and was persuaded, treacherously, or most imprudently, by those who attended him, to put himself into the power of the rebel governor of the Isle of Wight. Here, in the midst of a treaty, if it deserved to be so called, with the commissioners from the Parliament, his person was again suddenly seized in the dead of night by a party of soldiers, and closely imprisoned. Five days after, Cromwell, to whom it was still convenient to employ the name of a Parliament, sent one of his favourite officers, at the head of a strong guard, into the House of Commons, and made prisoners at once of more than forty members who were unfit for his purposes, and

on the following day himself appeared in the House, and received the thanks of those who remained for his great and faithful services. They now proceeded without delay to attaint the King of high treason, and on the Lords rejecting their bill, resolved that their consent was unnecessary, and so it passed in the name of the Commons of England only. A few, selected from the many instances of detestable hypocrisy and affected fanaticism displayed by Cromwell on this memorable occasion, must serve as specimens of that extravagant inclination to falsehood and deception, which was certainly the paramount feature of his nature, and is proved to have marked the whole of his public conduct. When this proceeding against the King was first proposed in the House of Commons, he rose, with great apparent agitation, and said that "if any man had moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but, since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray to God to bless their councils, though he was not on the sudden prepared to advise them." And in a subsequent debate, he told them that "while he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the King to his pristine majesty, his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, so that he could not speak another word; which he took as a return to his prayer, and so that God had rejected him from being King." And when an officer in the service of the States General was dispatched to him after the trial, with blanks, testified by that government to be genuine, and signed by Charles, and by the Prince of Wales, and proposed to him to insert any conditions on which the King's life might be spared, he left the messenger, and returning after some time, answered that he had been with the council of officers, "seeking God," and that they had all resolved that the King must die. Burnet too, whose report may be fully trusted on this occasion, assures us that Cromwell used every possible argument to persuade the Scottish Commissioners (for they who had so lately betrayed him to his blood-thirsty enemies now sent to

intercede for him) that the King ought to be put to death; and such was doubtless his fixed design when he first made himself master of the royal person.

From the moment of the King's murther Cromwell may be said to have reigned in England. The House of Commons however, such as he had left it, affected to form a government; voted the Peers useless and dangerous; set up a republican system, under the title of a commonwealth; and placed the executive power in the hands of certain persons, who were called a Council of State. Cromwell for a while temporised. He accepted, with all apparent deference, the command of an army sent to enforce the submission of Ireland; and on his return, after a short repose at Whitehall, where he now took up his residence, marched to chastise the Scots, who had received among them their new King. Here he gained the battles of Dunbar and Fife, while his subordinate commanders were uniformly successful in other parts of the country; and at length, by a series of the most masterly military dispositions, forced the main Scotch army, with the King at their head, into England; drove them before him to Worcester; and compelled them to try the fate of that well-known desperate action, the event of which seemed to have extinguished all hope in the loyal party. His letter, communicating the news of this signal victory to the Parliament which he was then meditating to annihilate, is still extant, and the concluding lines seem worthy of insertion here, not only as a further illustration of his detestable cant and hypocrisy, but as a sample of the style which he used, and the sentiments which he affected on all occasions, public and private.

——"The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for ought I know, a crowning mercy. Surely if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the Parliament to do the will of him who hath done his will for it, and for the nation—whose good

pleasure is to establish the nation, and change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting his honour who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen people; but that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed, so humble and faithful that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you as a thankful return to our glorious God. This shall be the prayer of

Your most humble and obedient servant,

O. CROMWELL."

It is ridiculously observable, that in the very moment that he was cajoling these people about a "crowning mercy," which, if not yet arrived, was surely to come, he was full fraught with the idea of placing the Crown of these kingdoms on his own head. He had scarcely returned from Worcester, when, as Whitelock informs us, at a meeting of certain members of the Commons, and some principal officers of the army, at the Speaker's house, summoned by Cromwell to deliberate on some plan for the permanent settlement of the nation, to be presented to the Parliament, Whitelock, who knew his mind, asked whether it should be "by way of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy?" Cromwell took the hint, and replied, "My Lord Commissioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning that we should consider whether a republic or a mixt monarchical government will be best to be settled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power should be placed?" Desborough and Whalley, two of the regicides, declared for a strict republic; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, a presbyterian member of the Commons, for a mixt monarchy, and unluckily

added,—to be placed, on terms, in one of the late King's sons; on which Cromwell calmly observed—"that will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and Christians, that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." The debate, in which Cromwell meant no more, for the time, than to sound the inclination of the parties, lasted long, but, as might be expected, ended in no determination.

The same author reports also a subsequent private conversation between Cromwell and himself on the same subject, in which the one seems to have disclosed his views without reserve, and the other to have argued against them with equal freedom, and the consequence of this contest was the disposal of Whitelock soon after in a foreign embassy. Cromwell, in the mean time, formed his resolution, and the mode of executing it, with cool intrepidity. The Commons, sensible of their own impotence, had submitted, at his dictation, to limit their sitting to the end of two years. That date had nearly expired; and of all imaginable contingencies none could have been more unfavourable to his hopes than a recurrence to the suffrages of the people. He suddenly assembled therefore a council of such of the ministers and military as he thought fit to trust on so momentous an occasion; bewailed that weakness in the Parliament of which himself had been the author; represented the danger with which it threatened the nation; and, with many pious exclamations, meekly besought their advice. A great majority, which had come fully prepared, proposed an immediate dissolution, and a message was sent to the Commons without delay, recommending to them to adopt that resolution by a vote of their own. They demurred; when Cromwell, putting himself instantly at the head of a party of soldiers, entered the House, and, to use a phrase worthy of the action, turned them out, with circumstances too well known to all England to need repetition. Thus this dastardly remnant of an assembly which

had for several years deluged the land in blood, and perpetrated in effect the murther of its lawful sovereign for having calmly ventured within its proud walls to demand the persons of five of its members who stood charged with high treason, submitted, without a remonstrance, then or after, to be crushed in a moment by the single act of an individual of its own body; a monster of its own creation.

He now summoned a Parliament, for so it was called, not only invented but elected by himself; dispatched letters missive to certain chosen persons, very insignificant either on the score of talent or property, requiring them to meet and deliberate, as representatives of their respective counties. By this means he gained time to make his final arrangements, as well as the advantage, such as it was, of obtaining a recognition of his authority by an assembly bearing the name of a Parliament, which it amply gave by voting on the thirteenth of December, 1653, five months after its birth, that its further continuance "would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to resign their powers to the Lord General," as they did without delay. Cromwell and his military Council now resolved that the government of the three Kingdoms should be in a Lord Protector, for life; a Council of State, which was so constituted as to be wholly at his disposal; and a triennial Parliament, on a new and convenient model; and he immediately assumed the office of Lord Protector.

He was now to maintain himself on the pre-eminence to which he had thus attained. He knew the English character, and sought to accommodate his government to its habits and its foibles, rather than to the actual interests of the country. He knew that it preferred greatness, and what is called national wealth, to the solid comfort to be derived from the cultivation of internal advantages. He felt too his own necessity to divert its attention from the contemplation of recent events. He commenced therefore the execution of his counterfeit reign with a defiance, declared

or implied, to nearly all the powers of Europe; assailed the Dutch in a furious and most successful maritime war; and had no sooner compelled them to a treaty, equally humiliating and expensive, than he prepared to attack Spain, and answered the remonstrances of the ambassador from Madrid, by demanding the abolition of the Inquisition in all his Master's dominions, and the unqualified admission of the English to a free trade in the Spanish West Indies. These being of course refused, he dispatched a fleet and army thither, and the island of Jamacia is a permanent fruit of that enterprise. At home, little remained to be done. The royalists were sunk in complete despondency; the mass of the people were dazzled by his boldness and his success; the religionists of all descriptions, even of the lately persecuted Church of England, were unmolested; he now confined his pious cares to himself, except in a single instance—the dissolution in a moment, by one of his colonels, of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. In the forty-two Chapters which compose the sacred record of his new constitution, not a word is to be found of doctrine, discipline, worship, churches, synods, or ministers. It mentions Christianity generally, and concedes a universal toleration.

A competent idea of his opinion of his first Parliament may be formed on two of his regulations which distinguished its commencement—the previous trial of elections by his own Council of State; and his imposition after it had met, in consequence of its having ventured into some discussion on the new government, of a qualifying test to be subscribed by each individual member. It proved however somewhat uncompliant, and he dissolved it, in an intemperate speech, after it had sat for five months. By this act he incurred, for the first time, a certain portion of unpopularity with his own party, which he extended to others by the cruel vengeance which he took on several persons who had risen in the west in a hopeless attempt for the royal cause. He fortified himself against the effects of these disgusts by increased kindness

to the army and navy, and by new levies of troops to a formidable amount, and thus entrenched, assumed an arbitrary rule hitherto unknown in Europe. He gave the custody of the Great Seal to two military officers; imprisoned barristers because they had pleaded for persons whom he disliked; and decided several causes at law by his own special authority. When he thought fit in 1656 to summon his second Parliament, he previously issued "a commission for inspection of Charters," of which his own solicitor was chairman, and thus in great measure enabled himself to disfranchise, or new model, those boroughs in which it was probable that his will might be opposed. This device however not proving fully sufficient, when the day of meeting arrived, a guard of soldiers was found at the doors of the House, and an officer, who presented to those members whose names appeared in a list which he held in his hand, tickets, certifying that they had been "approved by his Highness's Council," and to those who were not provided with such tickets no admission was granted.

It is not strange that an assembly thus formed should have determined to beseech Cromwell to assume the title of King. He answered doubtfully; desired time "to seek God," and that they would appoint a committee to confer with him on a question so weighty, and the conference was held accordingly. This impending disgrace however to the nation was cut short by the jealousy of some of the principal officers of the army, who unexpectedly petitioned the House to discourage the idea; and Cromwell, at a second meeting, in which, as Ludlow informs us, he had resolved to signify his acceptance of the title, was thus forced to refuse it, which he did, in a speech fraught with the grossest deception, and most profound hypocrisy. He now, however, obtained all but the name; for, in compliance with a second petition from the House, he consented to accept a renewal of his office of Protector; to be invested with more than regal powers; and to erect a House of Peers of his own creation. He was presently after solemnly inaugurated, with all the ceremonies,

one only excepted, of the coronation of our Kings. The Commons having completed for him this great work, now adjourned, and some signal naval successes against the Spaniards served to maintain the spirits and good humour of the astonished nation till the meeting of the newly constructed Parliament, which Cromwell opened with all the accustomed royal forms. Not many days had passed, when a strife arose between the two spurious Houses, so bitter and disgraceful that he flew to them in a rage beyond even his power of dissembling, and pronounced their dissolution. He is even said to have concluded the few furious sentences which he addressed to them with the words, "by the living God I must and do dissolve you."

From this period the bodily health, as well as the public character, of Cromwell gradually declined. He became timid and irresolute. Some plots were discovered against his life, and he imagined others which had no existence. A well known tract, recommending the assassination of tyrants, and entitled "Killing no Murther," is said to have cut him to the heart. His cruelty, according to the common unhappy order of nature, increased with his fears. The last public acts of his life were the erection of one more of those infamous tribunals which were nicknamed High Courts of Justice, and the sacrifice, according to its sentence, of many persons, most of them of great worth, who had engaged in a design to restore the King, scarcely a single active step towards the accomplishment of which seems to have been taken. Cromwell died of a tertian ague on the third of September, 1658.

He married Elizabeth, a natural daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Felsted, in Essex, who for some years survived him, and had by her three sons, and four daughters. Richard, his insignificant successor in the office of Protector; Henry, to whom he gave the government of Ireland; and James, who died an infant. Bridget, married first to Henry Ireton, then to Charles Fleetwood, both eminent in the rebel army; Elizabeth, wife of John Clay-

poole, of Norborough, in the county of Northampton; Mary, married Thomas Belasyse, Viscount Falconberg; and Frances, wife, first, of Robert Rich, grandson to Robert, Earl of Warwick; secondly of Sir John Russell of Chippenham, in Wilts. It has been said that he had two other children. If so, they died in their infancy.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

DOROTHY PERCY, COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

OB. 1659.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London. Published Sep.^r 1.1834, by Harding & Lepard. Pall Mall East.

DOROTHY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

This lady was the eldest daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland of his family, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter, first Earl of Essex of the house of Devereux. The scattered notices which remain of her are few, and mostly of a private and domestic sort, but they afford ample proof of the integrity of her heart, and the benignity of her temper; of excellent understanding, and the most refined politeness. Mild, timid, and cautious, the misfortunes of her family, on the sides both of her father and mother, probably inspired her with a distaste to the objects usually so eagerly sought by persons of her rank, and taught her to seek security and peace in the bosom of her family; while the same cause, operating on an opposite character, made her haughty and eccentric sister, the famous Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, an intriguing courtier, and a busy politician.

She was married in 1618 to Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, a nobleman of great worth and accomplishments, with whom she lived for nearly half a century in the most perfect connubial felicity. I have now before me one of her letters to him, then ambassador at Paris, written eighteen years after their marriage, which, after having treated in it at great length, and with much acuteness and judgment, of some matters of state at home in which his interests were concerned, she thus concludes:—

" Mr. Seladine comes in with your letter, whom I am engaged to intertaine a litle: besyeds, it is super time, or els I should bestow one sied of this paper in making love to you; and, since I maie with modestie expres it, I will saie that if it be love to thinke on you, sleeping and waking; to discourse of nothing with pleasur

but what conserns you; to wische myself everie hower with you; and to praie for you with as much devotion as for my owne sowle; then sertainlie it maie be saied that I am in love."

With her own family less harmony seems to have prevailed. Some cause of disagreement, now unknown, appears to have long subsisted between her brother, Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, and her lord; and Northumberland, whose character united to great strictness of honour and morality their too frequent concomitant, an imperious and severe temper, suffered his resentment to extend to his amiable sister. Allusions to this misfortune appeared in a letter addressed to him by Leicester, on the eighth of October, 1632, from Rensburgh, in Holstein, in which, among other conciliatory efforts, expressed with equal warmth, is the following passage: "I love you so much that I think I shall not profane the word of God, the fountaine of truth, if I take this saying out of it, and apply it to myself; that 'my love is beyond the love of women;' and, in confidence that you will believe this, or at least accept as much as you do believe, I present a request unto your Lordship that you will make a visit to your sister, my dear wife, if she be at Penshurst. That poore place hath not offended, that it should be forbidden the honor to receive you. She hath not offended, that she should be deprived of the consolation and delight that your Lordship's company ever brings her. Let me, that am the criminal, be punished with the trouble of minde for not enjoying the pleasure of your conversation, nor the glory of seeing you againe under my roofe. That which I desyre is only in consideration of your sister, whose disposition I know apt enough to be melancholick, especially in that solitary place, where, though it be the best I have, I must confess it was her ill fortune that placed her there; in recompence whereof my greatest study is to procure comforts for her, which she shall never want if my life can serve her with any," &c.

Northumberland, however, remained long unappeased. Even four years after, on the tenth of November, 1636, the Countess

closes a letter from Penshurst to her lord, at Paris, on a variety of his private affairs, of which she appears to have been a most careful and judicious superintendant, with complaints of her brother's unkindness. "I have not yet seene him," says she, "being full of the King's busines, as he pretends; neither have I perceived any inclination to drawe me from the solitarines I sufer in this place; for, though I expressed a willingnes to goe to him, were I acomodated for a journey, yet have I receaved no maner of invitation, wich I take a little unkindlye; but it shall not much afflicte me, for, I thanke God, and you, my dearest harte, that the obligations wich I have receaved from frends has beene very small; and I hope my necesities of their favors will not be increased. But of this coldnes in my brother I will take no notice, or verie litle; and content myself the best I can with this lonelie life, without envieng their greatnes, their plentie, or their jolitie. The principall trouble I sufer, next to the want of your companie, is the apprehentions I have of your being crost in what you desire to accomplishe; but my best and most earnest praiers shall be ofne presented for you; and, with your owne, which I beleeve are better then mine, I hope those blessings shall be obtained wich will make us hapie."

In 1639, and in 1641, she visited her husband in Paris, and in the latter of those years the Queen of France presented her with a diamond valued at six hundred pounds. The war between the King and the Parliament now commenced, and Leicester, whose loyalty was well known, became an object first of suspicion, and then of vengeance, to the party which unhappily gained the ascendancy. His estates were sequestrated; in 1643 the Countess sued for the restoration of them by a bold and dignified memorial, and the sequestration was presently after removed. It can scarcely be supposed that this concession was procured merely by her persuasion. Her brother, Northumberland, whose attachment to the royal cause was, at best, but lukewarm, and who was now in some measure reconciled to Leicester and his family;

and her eldest son, the Viscount Lisle, a young man already distinguished by republican prejudices, stood foremost among those Nobles whose affections the House of Commons was then most anxious to secure, and there can be little doubt that it was through their influence that Leicester was replaced in the possession of his patrimony, and permitted to live in tranquillity at home during the whole of the rebellion and usurpation.

These favours were some years after succeeded by a mark of confidence from the Parliament, which may be certainly traced to the same source. In June, 1649, the two youngest children of the unfortunate Charles were placed under her care, and are said to have been treated by her, till August, in the following year, when they were removed to other custody in the Isle of Wight, with great tenderness and respect. A single word, indeed, in Lord Clarendon's account of the circumstances at that time of those royal sufferers, tends to convey a different impression. "The Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester," says he, "were committed to the Countess of Leicester, to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth, which was performed towards them as long as the King their father lived; but, as soon as the King was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect, to draw the eyes and application of the people towards them: the allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened, and order was given that 'they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table;' whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the Earl of Leicester's, in Kent, where they lived under the tuition of the Countess, who observed the order of the Parliament with obedience enough; yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the Lady pretended she durst pay to them." Lord Clarendon, however, as

may be inferred from more than one passage in his history, entertained unfavourable prejudices against Leicester and his family; but the Princess, who died soon after her removal from Penshurst, recorded her gratitude and kindness to the Countess by bequeathing to her a jewel of considerable value. It is worthy of observation, that the Parliament, in its eagerness for popularity, condescended to question the validity of this legacy. The Countess had obtained letters of administration, and had gained possession of the jewel, when the Attorney General was ordered to institute a suit against the Earl, her husband, to claim it as the property of the State. The question remained in litigation till the beginning of the year 1659, when, as might be expected, it was decided in favour of the Parliament: the jewel was wrested from the Countess, and deposited in the Exchequer.

She died on the ninth of August, in the same year. A letter on that occasion, written by her Lord to the Earl of Northumberland, and savouring perhaps more of the finesse of a courtier than the grief of a widower, has been preserved, and claims a place in this memoir.

" My Lord,

" In the greatest sorrow that I have ever sufferd your Lordship hath given me the greatest consolation that I could receive from any body in this world; for having lost that which I loved best your Lordship secureth me from that which I loved next, that is your favour, to which having no right nor claime by any worthynes in myself, but only by that alliance of which my most deare wife was the mediation, I might justly feare the loss of that also if your Lordship's charity towards me did not prevent it. And now I will presume to tell your Lordship, that though you have lost an excellent sister, who by her affection and reverence towards you highly deserved of you, yet such was her death that your Lordship hath reason to rejoyce at her departure: and, if I were Christian good enough to concive the happynes of the

other life, and that I could have loved her enough, it might have bin to me a pleasure to see her dye as she dyed; but, being unable to repare my own loss with the consideration of her advantage, I must ever greeve for the one untill I may be partaker of the other; and, as I shall ever whilst I live pay to her memory all affection and respects, so, for her sake that loved you so dearly, and was so beloved of your Lordship, and for the high estimation which I have allways had of your Lordship, I beseech you to let me remaine in your favour, and to be assured of my being

Your Lordship's faithfullest humble servant,

LEYCESTER."

Penshurst, 31 Aug. 1659.

The issue of her marriage was four sons, and eight daughters. Philip, her first born child, succeeded to his father's titles and estates; Robert, the second son, died unmarried; Algernon, the third, suffered death for high treason in 1683; and the fourth, Henry, was created Earl of Romney. Her daughters were Elizabeth, who died young, and unmarried; Lucy, wife of Sir John Pelham, of Loughton, in Sussex, Bart.; Anne, wife of Joseph Cart, a clergyman; Mary, and Diana, who died in childhood; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Smith, Viscount Strangford, in Ireland; Frances, and Isabel, unmarried.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

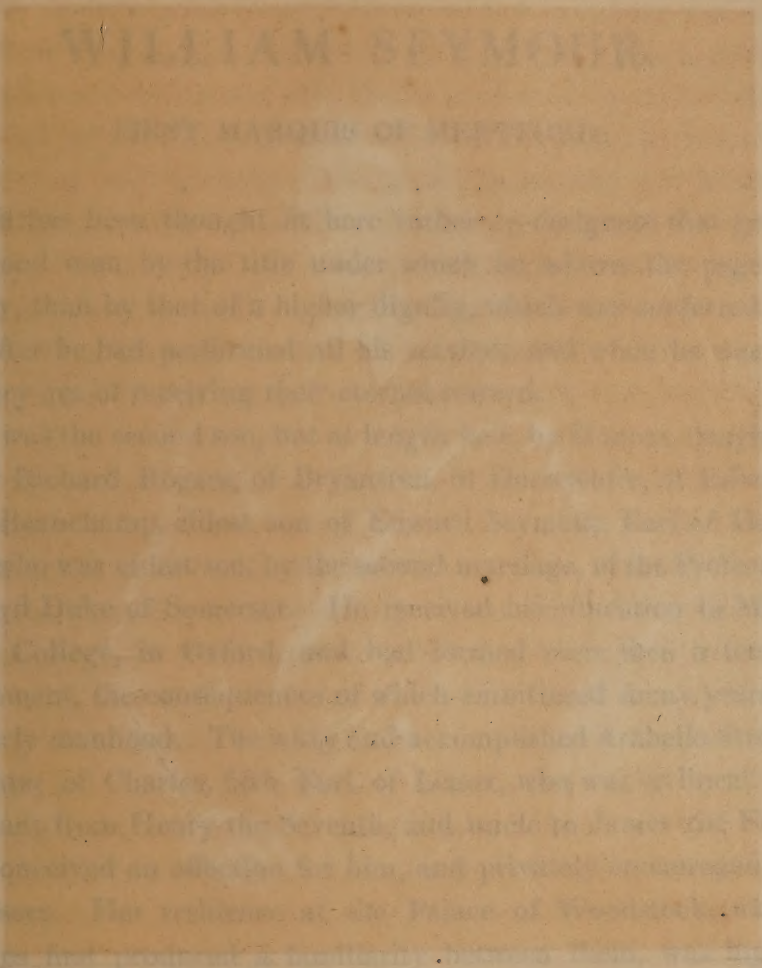
WILLIAM SEYMOUR, MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

OB.1660.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published Nov^r 1 1808, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



WILLIAM SEYMOUR,

FIRST MARQUIS OF HERTFORD;

For it has been thought fit here rather to designate that great and good man by the title under which he adorns the page of history, than by that of a higher dignity, which was conferred on him after he had performed all his services, and when he was on the very eve of receiving their eternal reward.

He was the second son, but at length heir, by Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanston, in Dorsetshire, of Edward Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who was eldest son, by the second marriage, of the Protector, Edward Duke of Somerset. He received his education in Magdalen College, in Oxford, and had formed even then a tender attachment, the consequences of which embittered many years of his early manhood. The witty and accomplished Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles, fifth Earl of Lenox, who was a lineal descendant from Henry the Seventh, and uncle to James the First, had conceived an affection for him, and privately encouraged his addresses. Her residence at the Palace of Woodstock, which perhaps first produced a familiarity between them, was highly favourable to their intercourse, which was long carried on in profound secrecy, but it was at length discovered in 1609 that they had entered into a formal contract of marriage. James, not only affronted, but, from motives which will be stated more at large in a sketch of the Lady's life, to be found elsewhere in this work, alarmed, caused them to be called before the Privy Council, and they were severely reprimanded; but this proceeding produced the very consequence which James desired to avoid; for Arabella, sensible that her reputation had been wounded by

the inquiry, was in a manner forced into a marriage with Mr. Seymour, which becoming publicly known in the spring of the following year, she was committed to a close, though private, custody, and he to the Tower of London. Thus separated, they concerted means to escape, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, amidst circumstances which fell little short of the fictions of chivalrous romance. The poor Lady however was unfortunately taken on the sea, near Calais, and imprisoned for the short remainder of her life; but Mr. Seymour eluded his pursuers, and arrived safely in Flanders, where he seems to have resided till 1621, when he succeeded to the titles of Earl of Hertford, and Baron Beauchamp, on the death of his grandfather.

This misfortune, operating on a disposition already perhaps too much addicted to retirement and reserve, induced him to seclude himself from the society of all but a few very dear friends. He resided for many years almost entirely in the country, dividing his time between his studies, to which he was passionately attached, and the repair of his estates, which had been sadly mutilated after the downfall of his great ancestor. His inclination, and his vote, when he attended in Parliament, went for some years after the accession of Charles the First with the popular party, but the eagerness of its leaders for the blood of Strafford convinced him of the true nature of their designs, and from that period he not only threw into the scale of the Crown the whole weight of his affection, his popularity, and his replenished revenues, but suddenly assumed, together with the character of a counsellor and a commander, a degree of activity which had before seemed foreign from his very nature. In 1640 the King advanced him to the title of Marquis of Hertford, and about the same time appointed him Governor to the Prince of Wales; an office conferred by Charles for the sake of proving the fulness of his confidence in this nobleman, and accepted by him merely in testimony of his profound duty and obedience; for, says Lord

Clarendon, "it is very true he wanted some of those qualities which might have been wished to be in a person to be trusted in the education of a great and hopeful Prince, and in forming his mind and manners in so tender an age. He was of an age not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded so much to, his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises; and had even contracted such a laziness of mind that he had no delight in an open and liberal conversation, and cared not to discourse and argue on those points which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending: and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance. But then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well support the dignity of a Governor, and exact that diligence from others which he could not exercise himself; and his honour was so unblemished that none durst murmur against the designation, and therefore his Majesty thought him very worthy of the high trust, against which there was no other exception but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution." The first act of his government was a positive refusal to obey an order of the Parliament respecting the Prince.

He subscribed at York, on the thirteenth of June, 1642, the declaration made by the Peers of their opinion of the King's motives in his dispute with the Parliament, and of his sincere desire to avoid the impending war; and was presently after appointed, by commission under the Great Seal, Lieutenant General of all the western parts of the kingdom, with power to levy men, as he might think necessary for his Majesty's service; and, quitting the King at Beverley, set out immediately for those counties, in which he possessed great estates, and yet greater public esteem. He had magnified overmuch the influence which he expected to derive from those sources, and, instead of using that activity which the occasion required, tacitly left the country

to exercise an option between the cause of the King and that of the rebels. In the mean time the enemy, under the Earl of Bedford, with the vigilance commonly used by those who espouse the faulty side of a question, had projected to surprise him at Wells, where, with only four troops of cavalry, and about an hundred foot, he had first taken up his quarters; and, although they failed in that design, forced him, even within few days after his arrival, to retreat, which he did with great gallantry, and without loss, to Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, and from thence into Cornwall, where leaving a small part of his force, he transported himself, with the remainder, into Glamorganshire, and then joined the King at Oxford. Shortly after, however, upon some successes obtained by Prince Rupert in Devonshire and Cornwall, he was again despatched into those parts, and Prince Maurice appointed to serve under him. He was now more diligent, and more successful, in his levies, which, added to the few troops which marched with him from Oxford, presently placed him at the head of a body of sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about a thousand foot. Thus recruited, he had no small share in the victories gained over Sir William Waller at Landsdown, and at Roundway; but on the capture of Weymouth, unhappy differences arose between him and the two Princes, the King's nephews, on the question whether he, as commander in the west, or Prince Rupert, as commander in chief of the King's army, possessed the right to nominate a governor of that town. The Marquis, at the King's earnest instance, consented with a good grace to wave his claim, but this dispute seems to have terminated his military services, for which, to say the truth, he appears to have had few qualifications beyond his personal courage, and his perfect fidelity to the royal cause. He retired with the King to Oxford; was appointed Groom of the Stole; and soon after resigned his superintendance of the Prince of Wales. On the twenty-fourth of October, in the same year, 1643, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

He now became the constant counsellor, companion, and friend, of the unhappy Charles, to whom he wholly devoted himself. In all negotiations and treaties with the rebels, public or private, he was the prime agent; and such was their reverence for his virtues and his honour, that they seem to have allowed him to converse and correspond with them with the utmost freedom, and even to have held his person sacred, for he frequently put himself into their power. The sums lavished by him, from his own purse, for the service of the Crown, were prodigious, independently of the great charge of his military levies. He is said to have brought at one time to the King sixty thousand pounds, contributed by himself, and some of his friends; and he supplied the necessities of Charles the second, during the fifteen years of his exile, with nearly five thousand pounds annually. The private nature of the innumerable services performed by him between the period when he relinquished his military command and that of the King's death has in a great measure excluded them from the notice of historians, from whom we gain no further information of him previously to the Restoration than that he was a commissioner for the King at the treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newport, and that he was one of the four faithful noblemen who were permitted to lay the body of their murdered master in its grave.

He was of course dismissed by the usurpers from his office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and restored by a letter from King Charles the second to that body, three weeks before he returned to repossess his crown. The Marquis met him at Dover on his landing, and the next day received from his hands at Canterbury the order of the Garter, to which he had been elected in Jersey on the thirteenth of January, 1649. He was immediately after restored by an act of Parliament to the title of Duke of Somerset, which had been forfeited by the attainder of the Protector, his great grandfather; and the King, when he passed the bill, observed to both Houses that "as this was an act of an

extraordinary nature, so it was done for an extraordinary person, who had merited as much of his royal father and himself as any subject could do; and therefore he hoped no man would envy it, because he had done what a good master should do to such a servant." The Marquis survived these tributes of just gratitude scarcely five months: he died on the twenty-fourth of October, 1660, and was buried at Great Bedwin, in Wilts, having been twice married; first, as has been before observed, to the Lady Arabella Stuart, by whom he had no issue; and, secondly, to Frances, eldest daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and sister and coheir to the second Earl Robert, the Parliament General. By the latter Lady he had five sons, of whom William, Robert, and Thomas, died young and unmarried; and four daughters; Mary, married to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea; Frances, successively to Richard Viscount Molineux, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and Conyers, son and heir to Conyers Lord Darcy; Jane, wife to Charles Lord Clifford, of Londesborough, son and heir to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington; and Arabella, who died unmarried. His two sons who lived to maturity were Henry Lord Beauchamp, who died in 1656, leaving an only son, William, successor to his grandfather; and John, who on the death of that William, his nephew, in 1671, unmarried, became fourth Duke of Somerset.

Lord Clarendon, whose admirable censures must never be omitted, says that " the Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour, interest, and estate, and of an universal esteem over the whole kingdom; and, though he had received many and continued disobligations from the Court, from the time of the King's coming to the Crown as well as during the reign of King James, in both which seasons more than ordinary care had been taken to discountenance and lessen his interest, yet he had carried himself with a notable steadiness from the beginning of the Parliament in the support and defence of the King's power and dignity, notwithstanding all his allies, and those with whom he had the

greatest familiarity and friendship, were of the opposite party, and never concurred with them against the Earl of Strafford, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy: and then he was not to be shaken in his affection to the government of the Church, though it was enough known that he was in no degree biassed to any great inclination to the person of any Churchman; and, with all this, that party carried themselves towards him with profound respect, not presuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to lessen his. He was a man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage; yet he was so wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for business."

Engraved by T. Wright.

LUCY PERCY, COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

OB. 1660.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Feb. 1. 1831, by Harding and Lepard, Pall Mall East.

LUCY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

This Lady, equally remarkable for beauty, talents, and singularities, was the second and youngest daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his name. She was born in 1600, and had scarcely reached her fifth year when her father, whom undeserved ill-fortune seems to have prevented from shining among the first great characters of his time, was charged with being accessary, or at least privy, to the Gunpowder Plot; enormously fined; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for life, where indeed he remained for nineteen years. An illustrious family, thus deprived of its protector, perhaps wisely sought security in seclusion, and it was probably amidst the mountains and forests of her mighty ancestors that Lucy acquired the activity and independence, the masculine and haughty sentiments and prejudices, by which she was always distinguished. On the sixth of November, 1617, she was married to James, Lord Hay, afterwards created Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, a young Scotsman, whom King James, with the extravagancy which usually marked his partialities, had loaded with favours. The legends of Asiatic magnificence, and of Roman luxury, fall short of the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the habits of this nobleman's life. Having already imbibed much of the romantic in rural retirement, such a union presented to her a new series of illusions of a nature wholly opposite, and, together with the idolatry lavished on her beauty by a splendid Court, contributed to form a character at once admired, disliked, feared, little understood by any, and perhaps least of all by herself.

This marriage, which had been made by the King, and which he honoured by his presence, was highly offensive to her father, but in the end procured his liberation. Wilson, in his Life of James the first, tells us that "the younger daughter, Lucy, a lady of incomparable beauty, solemnized in the poems of the most exquisite wits of her time, married the Lord Hayes, now made Viscount Doncaster, against her father's will, (who aimed at higher extractions;) which the old Earl's stubborn spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and Doncaster, whose affection was above money, setting only a valuation upon his much admired bride, strove to make himself meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his father-in-law, that he got his release: but the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a release from his hand; so that when he had his liberty he restrained himself, and with importunity was wrought upon, by such as knew the distempers of his body might best qualify those of his mind, to make a journey to the Bath, which was one special motive to accept of his son-in-laws respects." The Earl's enlargement, however, did not take place for four years after his daughter's marriage.

In the following reign she turned her attention to politics; despised the society of her own sex; studied systems of government, intrigued in matters of state, actually obtained considerable influence, and exercised it with adroitness and security. Lord Clarendon, to whose very gravity the interference of a woman, and such a woman, must have been sufficiently offensive, occasionally mentions her, and always unfavourably. Speaking of Lord Holland's transactions with the disaffected party, after his shameful abandonment of the King at York in the autumn of 1641, and of the mischievous intelligence with which they were treacherously supplied by that nobleman, he concludes,—"and he added to all this whatever information he had received by the Lady Carlisle of words or actions spoken or done by the Queen, which might increase their jealousy or malice to her Majesty."

On the discovery probably of this, or some such correspondence, she lost the Queen's favour; for he tells us elsewhere, in treating of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, after his flight to Holland, that "the Countess of Carlisle, who was now much trusted by the citizens, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen," had engaged herself in a negotiation between the Prince and the city, and had given his Royal Highness her advice as to his conduct towards the leading men there. Lord Clarendon however soon after acknowledges that she had "pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the Earl of Holland;" but takes care to add, in the same sentence, that the Lord Percy, her brother, had been "a very importunate solicitor to the Prince for the repayment of that sum," and that "she had committed faults enough towards the King and Queen."

All this, it is true, might have been reasonably expected from any woman of a lively and busy cast of mind; but that she should have gained an influence over the wise, severe, and haughty Strafford, would, if supported but by mean evidence, be utterly incredible. Of this, which is more than once alluded to by historical writers, we have a full proof in a letter of the tenth of January, 1636, from her sister, Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester, to her Lord, which may be found in the Sidney Papers. "I shall be in much hope," writes the Countess, "that you will succeed the Deputy of Ireland," (Strafford) "whom they saie will only stay the accomplichement of what he has undertaken; but I fear that Lady Carlisle, who has more power with him than any creatur, will do nothing for our good." This fact might be corroborated too by several letters from Lady Carlisle herself, two of which, one to the Earl of Leicester, the other to his Countess, from the same collection, I will insert here; not however so much for that purpose, as to shew her vehement inclination to politics, and as specimens of her epistolary style and method. The names are written in cypher in the originals, and

afterwards decyphered, I suppose by Collins, the editor of the Papers, and it may be observed that she always mentions herself in the third person.

My Lord,

A Sunday last the King cald Hamilton, and Lord Deputy, and commanded them to be friends, saying thaye wayr persons that he meant to trust with most of his busnise, and therefore that thaye must agree. Hamilton mayd great professions that he had never spoken to the disadvantage of Lord Deputy, and calld the King to witnes it, which he did, though Lady Carlisle knowse he hase indeavourd all that's posible to keepe the Deputy from being Lo. Treasorer. The Queene has mutche lamented this losse of the Spaniards, which the French Ambassador takes very ill. Sir Henry Vane has behaved himself verie well in H. Percy's busnise, and hase spoken verie boldly to the King; but yet it cannot be overcome, for Hamilton dosse hugly opose it, and his power is sartanely verie great; but the Queene is confident it will be donne, which I fear. Three days agoe my brother Northumberland wase calld to the Junto, and yesterdaye my Lord Hamilton, and the Deputye. There is ane other littell Junto that is mutch apprehended hear, of which there is but three; the Bishop, and Hamilton, and Deputye. They have meet twise, and the world is full of guesses for the ocation of it. My Lord, it is a great pain to me that you have yet no more sartanty of my sister's health, and I fear your Lordship gives me your greatest hopes. My best consolation is that you saye she is cheerfull, for that is not her humor of great indispositione, without the being with your Lordship make that change. I beseetch you lett me again hear from your Lordship the nexst weeke, for tell I am free from thes feares I cane thinke of nothing ells, which I am confident will make you love me, and believe me more

17 Oct. 1639. Your's, &c.

Dear Sister,

I am glad that you wish a friendshipe between my Lord of Leicester and Deputy, for I am confident it will be ane essy worke, and, if Lady Carlisle be not much deceaved, for the servis of Leicester, which above all things at the present I thinke of. Northumberland is better with the Deputy then he hase binne. Those two Lords have made a littell expostulatione, and Northumberland more satisfyd by mutche, and is now cald to all the greatest secrets of the King, which are nowe only in the trust of Canterbury, Deputy, and Hamilton. Conway will be General of the Horse, and Counseler, which is absolutely the Deputy's act. I desier you not to take notis of it to any body. The Deputy dosse absolutely govern Canterbury, and sartanly maye perswade him to anything; and Lady Carlisle is verie confident that she cane engage the Deputy as far as you please in any betwixt Canterbury and E. of Leicester. I was desiered by my Lord Deputy to send some of your servants to bye him 2 beds, one of crimsone velvet, and the other of watched damaske; the crimsone, with silke fringe, and the other with gold and silver; but I, that dayr saye anything to you, will let you knowe that by giving this command to one of your servants you will do him a huge favor. I did expect to have found the prise of my particler in the trunke, but not finding it, I beseetche you send it by the next, and let me know whether I shall paye the mony to Jone Illoyts, or send it to France. I have not binne well this weeke, and therfor excuse my strang writing. If you have found anything for a New year's Gift send me word by the next; and let my Lady Spencer knowe that my indispositione keept me from writing to her. My Lord of Holland asks your pardon for not writing, being at Theobalds with the King.

19 of December, 1639. Your's, &c.

We will take leave here of her political speculations, observing only, in addition, that they seem to have been built on no fixed

principles. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, accuses her, the friend, and alledged confident, of Strafford, of having given notice to Pym of the King's coming to the House of Commons to demand the five members, in order that they might have time to absent themselves. And St. Evremond, in the spirit of true French politeness, founding a compliment on her duplicity, tells us that—" from the inmost recesses of Whitehall, she had a great hand in animating the faction at Westminster." It is said that Monk obtained his first commission for military service in England through her recommendation, at the commencement of the civil war.

If her talents, whatever they might have been, attracted the notice and favour of one class of men, her beauty, not to mention her vanity, in which she seems to have been by no means deficient, commanded the positive worship of another. " Solemnized indeed she was," to use again the words of Arthur Wilson, " in the poems of the most exquisite wits of the time." At the head of these was Waller, the bard of the Sidneys, her relations, from the numerous eulogies dedicated to her by whose muse I will select the most agreeable.

The Country to my Lady of Carlisle.

Madam, of all the sacred Muse inspir'd,
Orpheus alone could with the Woods comply.
Their rude inhabitants his song admir'd,
And nature's self, in those that could not lye.
Your beauty next our solitude invades,
And warms us, shining through the thickest shades.

Nor ought the tribute which the wond'ring court
Pays your fair eyes prevail with you to scorn
The answer, and consent to that report
Which, echo like, the country does return.
Mirrors are taught to flatter, but our springs
Present th'impartial images of things.

A rural judge disposed of beauty's prize:
A simple shepherd was preferr'd to Jove:
Down to the Mountains, from the partial skies,
Came Juno, Pallas, and the Queen of love,
To plead for that which was so justly given
To the bright Carlisle of the Court of heav'n.

Carlisle! a name which all our woods are taught
Loud as their Amaryllis to resound.
Carlisle! a name which on the bark is wrought
Of every tree that's worthy of the wound.
From Phœbus' rage our shadows and our streams
May guard us better than from Carlisle's beams.

Voiture too, the Waller of France, in which country she resided during her husband's embassy thither, has addressed to her some highly complimentary verses. It is remarkable that her poets have confined themselves almost wholly to the celebration of her personal charms, seldom adverting to the powers of her mind, and never to her virtues; this however furnishes scarcely a negative evidence against her moral character. Such a person must have had abundance of enemies, and yet we meet with no direct censure on her conduct as a woman, except in the memoirs, already quoted, of Sir Philip Warwick, who, it must be confessed, expresses himself of her pretty freely. He calls her "that busy stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle, who had now changed her gallant, from Strafford to Pym, and was become such a she-saint that she frequented their sermons, and took notes, &c." If Warwick intended to apply the word "gallant" in its most usual sense, we shall have less cause to wonder at the strictness of her intimacies, either with royalists or rebels.

Nor were her panegyrics confined to verse. Sir Toby Matthews, whose eccentricities have found their way into all the memoirs of the reigns of James and Charles the first, drew her character with an intenseness of labour, and an extravagancy and obscurity of thought and expression, which must discourage all hope, could any one be found with such a hope, to discover a parallel. This

singular production lay dormant till 1660, the last year of Lady Carlisle's life, when it appeared, occupying no less than ten octavo pages, in a volume of Letters of eminent persons, collected by Matthews, and edited by Dr. Donne, who prefixed to it a dedication to the Countess, in which he seems to have striven to tear the palm of absurdity from the brow of his author. "But, Madam," concludes Donne (having uttered every thing that common sense, and moderate taste, would have rejected, on the subject of epistolary correspondence, particularly of the dead with the living, and, above all, of Sir Toby Matthews with his surviving friends in England, and all for the sake of introducing a poor final conceit) "that which would concern us more than all this is a hope that by a letter from him we should hear that your Ladyship were to favour us for many years to come with your presence here; whose absence would make such a chasm in our Galaxy, that it would grieve us less to see all our saints ascend into the heavens than that the earth should lose so much of her splendor, beauty, and goodness." Among the most intelligible passages of Matthews's long eulogium, the whole of which, as Lord Orford justly observes, might fairly pass as satire, are the following.—"She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature—Her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous—She has as much sense and gratitude for the actions of friendship as so extreme a beauty will give her leave to entertain—She more willingly allows of the conversation of men than of women; yet when she is amongst her own sex, her discourse is of fashions and dressings, which she hath ever so perfect upon herself as she likewise teaches it by seeing her—She hath too great a heart to have naturally any strong inclination to others—She affects particular so much that she dislikes general courtesies; and you may fear to be less valued by obliging her—She believeth nothing to be worthy her consideration but her own imaginations: those gallant fancies keep her in satisfaction when she is alone; when she will

find something worthy of her liking, since in the world she cannot find any thing worthy of her loving—She hath a grace and facility, and I might well say a felicity, in her expressions, since they are certain and always in the fewest words—She is in disposition inclined to be choleric, which she suppresses, not perhaps in consideration of the persons who occasion it, but upon a belief that it is unhandsome towards herself—She affects extremes, because she cannot suffer any condition but of plenty and glory." The reader doubtless will be satisfied with the extent of these extracts.

The Countess of Carlisle died in November, 1660, having survived her husband, by whom she had no children, for twenty-four years. She was buried, near her father, at Petworth, in Sussex

Engraved by W. T. Mote.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

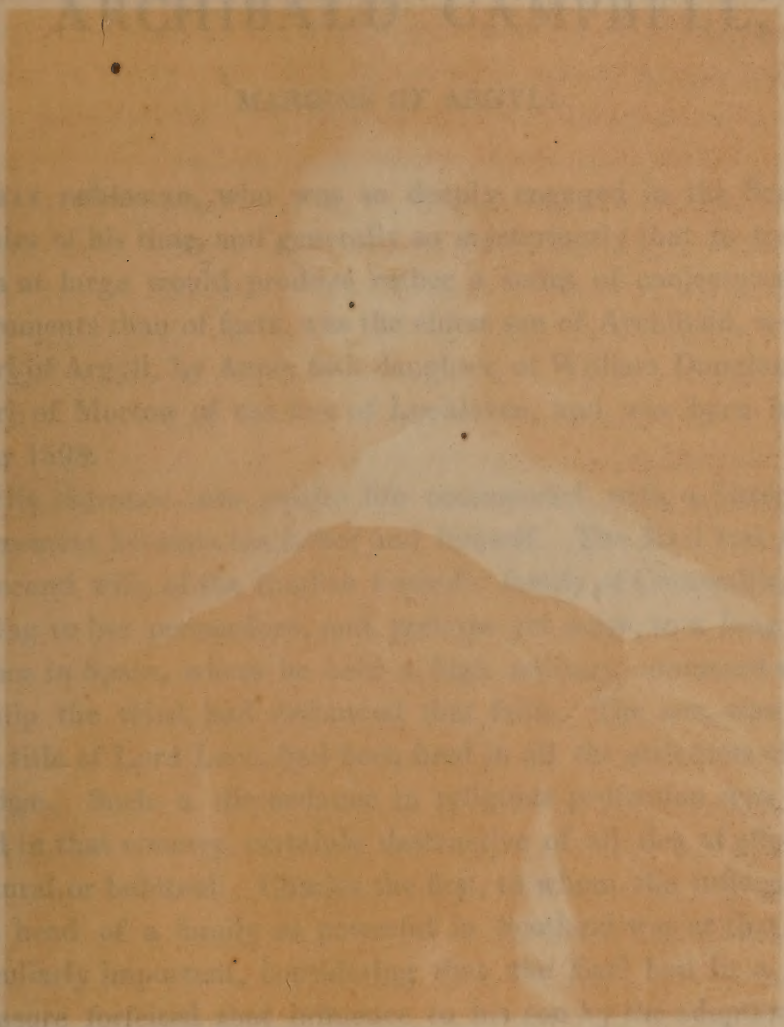
OB. 1661.

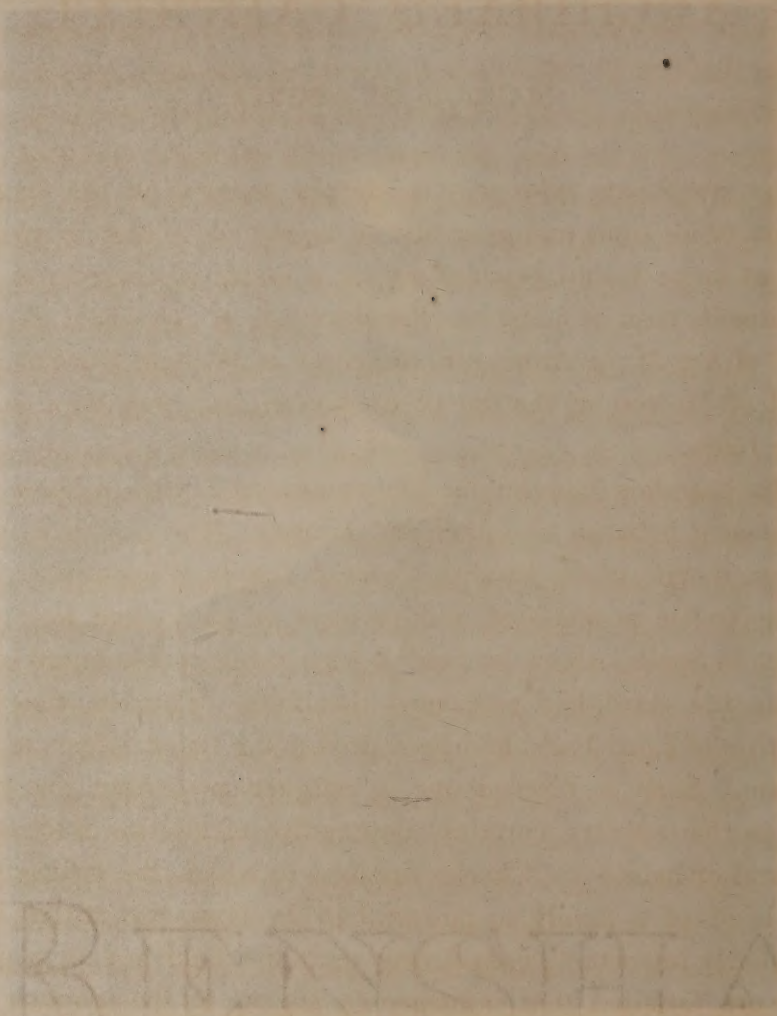
FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

PROOF

London, Published Jan^y 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.





ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

This nobleman, who was so deeply engaged in the Scottish affairs of his time, and generally so mysteriously that to treat of him at large would produce rather a series of conjectures and arguments than of facts, was the eldest son of Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, by Anne, fifth daughter of William Douglas, first Earl of Morton of the line of Lochleven, and was born in the year 1598.

His entrance into public life commenced with a bitter disagreement between his father and himself. The Earl had taken a second wife, of the English Catholic family of Cornwallis, and, owing to her persuasions, and, perhaps yet more, to a long residence in Spain, where he held a high military command under Philip the third, had embraced that faith. The son, who bore the title of Lord Lorn, had been bred in all the strictness of Calvinism. Such a discordance in religious profession was then, and in that country, certainly destructive of all ties of affection, natural or habitual. Charles the first, to whom the influence of the head of a family so powerful in Scotland was at that time peculiarly important, considering that the Earl had in a great measure forfeited that influence to his son by the adoption of a doctrine and worship so detested there, spared no pains in endeavouring to gain Lord Lorn to his interest. He called the young nobleman to his Privy Council in Scotland so early as the year 1626, and soon after accepted from him a surrender of the hereditary office, or rather the reversion of it, of Justice General in Scotland, which was little more than a dignified sinecure, and gave him in return the appointment of Justiciary of the shire of

Argyll, the Western Isles, and all other his father's estates in Scotland, which in fact invested him with all but sovereign sway in those parts: he was about the same time constituted one of the extraordinary Lords of Session; but these favours were presently followed by one far more considerable. The Earl, whose great revenues were mostly in his own disposal, had resolved to disinherit him, when the king interfered, and not only prevented it, but, in right of one of the many penal laws against Catholics, compelled Argyll to relinquish his estates to his son, and to accept a rent charge on them of sufficient amount for the maintenance of his rank during his life.

When this arrangement was made both parties were in London, and it seems to have been concluded in the King's presence, for Lord Clarendon informs us that "the old man declared he would submit to the King's pleasure, though he believed he was hardly dealt with; and then, with some bitterness, put his son in mind of his undutiful carriage towards him, and charged him to carry in his mind how bountiful the King had been to him, which yet, he told him, he was sure he would forget; and thereupon said to his Majesty, 'Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do. You have brought me low that you may raise him, which I doubt you will live to repent, for he is a man of craft, subtlety, and falsehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you mischief he will be sure to do it." Nor was it long before this prophesy was fully verified.

Lorn returned into Scotland, full of professions of loyalty and gratitude, but with discontent lurking at his heart. He had asked the King for the office of High Chancellor of Scotland, which just at that time became vacant by the death of George, Earl of Kinnoull, and was not only refused, but had the additional vexation of seeing it bestowed on a Prelate, the historian Spotswood, which more than ever irritated him against that order. He concealed however his resentment, as well as the communications into which he presently entered with the leaders of the more

violent presbyterians, but suspicions soon arose of his disaffection, and, on the first proposal of the covenant, were confirmed. Still he affected a high devotion to the King's interests; joined in all the deliberations of the Privy Council, and in the direction of the measures of government. At length the rumour of his double dealing becoming public, he wrote an apology at large for his conduct, and transmitted it to the English ministers, who replied that the King desired to receive it from his own mouth. This however, as well as any apparent concern with the covenant, which by this time had set Scotland in a flame, he dexterously evaded; and thus, maintaining with great skill a shew of strict impartiality, seemingly dictated by his loyalty on the one hand, and his conscience on the other, he steered his doubtful course till the end of the year 1638, when, thinking his designs, whatever they were, sufficiently ripe for such a disclosure, he at length publicly signed the covenant, and committed an act of open resistance to the Crown, by remaining and voting in that general assembly which abolished Episcopacy in Scotland, after its dissolution had been formally pronounced by the King's High Commissioner. He was now Earl of Argyll, nor is it improbable that the death of his father, which had very recently occurred, might have furnished some motives to this sudden alteration in his conduct.

Charles's impotent and unfortunate warlike expedition into Scotland immediately followed, and in the pacification, as it was called, which so speedily cut it short, Argyll was a principal manager. The King, soon after his return, dispatched an order, or rather invitation, for his personal attendance at the Court, with some others of the Scottish nobility, which he disobeyed, pleading a prohibition by which the government there, in its anxiety for his personal safety, had forbade his absence; nor could he indeed at that time have been spared with convenience to his or their designs, for he was then, with his vassals, in arms, successfully combating the Earl of Athol, and the clan of Ogilvie.

who had risen for the King in the north. Scotland had now in fact tacitly renounced its allegiance, and was in a close correspondence with the rebel Parliament of England, in which no man was more deeply, however secretly, engaged than Argyll. Charles, in the spring of 1640, made another feeble and abortive effort to subdue it by an army, which was followed by another disgraceful treaty, in the result of which he submitted to all the demands of the covenanters, and in the following year, tempted by some singular and unknown motives, made a visit to that land which had so lately involved him in such bitter humiliation. His first care on his arrival was to open privately a negotiation with Argyll, through the medium of the Marquis of Hamilton, which had scarcely commenced when both those noblemen fled secretly from Edinburgh to their country seats, alledging that they had discovered a design to take them off by assassination. That a proposal to that effect had been offered to the King we have undoubted evidence, while even his worst enemies have always admitted that he rejected it with disgust and horror, yet considerable mystery involves the circumstance of their flight. It produced however no results, beyond furnishing the leading rebels in England with a pretext for alarming the people by affected apprehensions of similar attacks on themselves; and producing to the two fugitive Lords on their return an advancement in their respective dignities: Hamilton was created a Duke, and, on the sixteenth of November, 1641, the title of Marquis was granted to Argyll; acts of grace performed by Charles probably with no other view than to discredit any belief of his having countenanced the alledged design against their personal safety.

These two great men, of equal weight in Scotland, of equal talents, and of characters somewhat similar, were at that time apparently on terms of friendship. Hamilton possessed the entire confidence of the King, who had lately employed him in endeavouring to fathom the real sentiments and intentions, with respect to public affairs, of Argyll, whose discovery of that commis-

sion, joined to a mutual jealousy of each other's power, produced a bitter enmity between them. Charles left Scotland in November, 1641, having, by innumerable bounties and concessions during his stay, in a manner divested himself of the sovereignty of the country, and Argyll lost no time in confirming the close connection which he had for some time held with the English Parliament, and disposing Scotland, always saving his own superiority there, to a submission to its will. In order to enable himself to pursue this line of conduct with full effect, he procured from his own Parliament, as it may be called, since it was wholly under his controul, the office of first Commissioner for Scottish affairs to that of England. There he cultivated the strictest intimacy with all the most determined enemies to the King and to Monarchy; while at home, whether in Council, in Parliament, in the field, or in the application of his own vast private authority, he directed all his endeavours to the utter ruin of the royal cause; yet, such was the profound faculty of this man at artifice and dissimulation, that he contrived from time to time during the course of his open rebellion to flatter the King's friends, and even Charles himself, with faint hopes that he was secretly inclined to support it when a favourable opportunity might offer itself.

In the spring of 1644, in his character of first commissioner, he came to England with the army which, under the command of Leslie, then invaded it, and on his return marched into the north of Scotland, with a commission of commander in chief, to oppose the Marquis of Huntley, who had risen there with a considerable body of troops on the part of the Crown; and, having defeated them, attacked the Marquis of Montrose, to whom he had an utter hatred, and who had lately beaten the covenanters near Aberdeen, and dispersed his little army. His military successes however were cut short by the arrival in his own territory of the Marquis of Antrim, who claimed a right to the inheritance of a large portion of it, with a body of Irish, who, being joined by

Montrose, and his scattered forces, laid the country waste, with horrible spoil and devastation. The battle of Inverlochie followed, in which Argyll was totally worsted, and fifteen hundred of the name of Campbell perished. Their chief, who was equally deficient in the skill and in the spirit of a soldier, beheld the havoc from a boat in a neighbouring lake, not less galled by the severe loss than by the fact that the victorious general was Montrose. That gallant nobleman commanded also in the battle of Kilsyth, yet more unfortunate to the covenanters, which occurred shortly after, and in which Argyll was likewise present. Numerous actions of less importance, but not less favourable in their events to the royal cause, were fought about the same period. The military force of the Scottish rebels was nearly destroyed; and in February, 1646, Argyll went to Ireland, to bring home a little army which had been sent thither to the aid of the Protestants, on the breaking out of the horrible insurrection of 1642.

On his return he re-assumed the politician. It is about this time that we find Lord Clarendon speaking shortly of him in terms which tend to justify much which has been here given of his character—"The Marquis of Argyll," says his Lordship, "was now come from Scotland, and sat" (in Parliament) "with the commissioners of that kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendant. He was, in matters of religion, and in relation to the church, purely Presbyterian; and in matters of state, and with reference to the war, perfectly Independent. He abhorred all thoughts of peace, and that the King should ever more have the government, towards whose person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast friendship with Sir Harry Vane, during his late being in Scotland, and they both liked each other's principles in government. From the time of his coming to the town the Scottish commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the ordinance," (self denying) "or the new modelling the army." These were in fact the two measures which led most

immediately to the subversion of what remained of the British constitution.

And now, in an evil hour, the unhappy Charles fled for protection to his Scottish subjects. It seems scarcely credible that Argyll should have been among the first of those who greeted him with protestations of fidelity; still less, that the King should have immediately intrusted him with a commission to obtain the opinion of two of his most faithful servants, the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquis of Hertford, whom he had left at Oxford, on a question of the utmost delicacy and importance—whether it would be advisable at that juncture for the Scottish Parliament and army to declare explicitly in his favour? That both these facts occurred we have however the best historical evidence; as well as that Argyll performed, or pretended to have performed, the duty required of him, and delivered to the King a negative answer. He contrived to be absent from all deliberations on the subject of the infamous surrender, which speedily followed, of the King's person to the English rebels; but it would be madness to suppose that such a step could have been taken without the consent of him who at the time might be said to govern Scotland. He opposed with vehemence "the loyal Engagement," in compliance with which the Duke of Hamilton undertook his unfortunate expedition into England; and not only protested in Parliament against the vote by which it was ordained, but, shortly after the murther of the King, personally led to Edinburgh an immense tumultuary body of the most furious covenanters, and with their aid expelled the executive branch, which called itself "the Convention of Estates," for having obeyed that vote, and so in a manner dissolved the government.

This certainly was a fit preparation for his reception of Cromwell, who so soon followed his example, on a somewhat larger scale. That General now marched with an army to Edinburgh, where he was received by Argyll with a cordiality not wholly

affected. The covenant was renewed with great solemnity; the engagement proscribed, and its adherents summoned to appear before the Parliament, which was then about to meet. Argyll however was unable, perhaps unwilling, to go with that arch-rebel the whole length which was meditated by the latter, for the Scots were, to a man, now anxious that the King's life, which they had put in jeopardy, should be spared. It was rumoured that he had proposed that his Majesty should be perpetually imprisoned, and that Cromwell when they were together had consented. The great tragedy over, Scotland, as with one voice, demanded the acknowledgment and proclamation of Charles the second, and Argyll, powerful as he was, durst not resist. The new King arrived in Scotland, and was received by him with all the arts and graces of a courtier, the practice of which no man better understood, but watched and guarded as a prisoner. After Charles had left him to march into England, his importance gradually decayed, and with it his spirit, which had been always the creature of circumstances and not of nature, but his shameless inconsistency and treachery became aggravated. He placed the Crown on the head of Charles the second with his own hands in 1651; assisted in the ceremony of proclaiming Oliver Cromwell Protector in 1653; signed an engagement to support the usurper's government; condescended to sit in his mock House of Commons, as representative of the county of Aberdeen; and secretly intrigued there for the King's restoration.

When that great event occurred, he wrote to Charles from Scotland, desiring leave to pay his duty to him. It has been obscurely hinted by Burnet that the King in his answer, delivered verbally to the Lord Lorn, and communicated by him in writing to his father, did not discourage his coming. Be that as it might, he came, and was actually within the palace of Whitehall when he was arrested, and committed to the Tower, from whence, after a time, he was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh, and put on his trial. It is strange, more especially considering the

character of the time, and of the party accused, that it should have been found difficult to convict a man nearly the whole of whose life had been passed in the commission of treason, but there is reason to think that he would have been finally acquitted had not Monk, with scandalous baseness, conveyed to the advocates for the Crown, even during the trial, some letters written by Argyll to himself when they were colleagues in rebellion. The evidence thus obtained was conclusive. He was condemned, in recollection of the fate of the gallant Montrose, to be hanged, but that indignity was afterwards spared; and, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1661, he was beheaded, suffering death with a calmness and resolution little expected in a man whose natural timidity was as well known as his crimes.

The Marquis of Argyll married his cousin Margaret, second daughter of William Douglas, second Earl of Morton, by whom he had Archibald, to whom the Earldom of Argyll was re-granted, and who was beheaded in 1685, and Neile; and three daughters; Anne, who died a spinster; Jean, married to Robert Ker, first Marquis of Lothian; and Mary, first to George Sinclair, sixth Earl of Caithness, secondly, to John Campbell, first Earl of Breadalbin.

Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

DAUGHTER OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

OB. 1662.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

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ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

Few persons have been more celebrated than this lady for virtues, talents, strength of mind, sweetness of temper, and gaiety of heart. These praises however have been bestowed but in the way of general eulogy, and we can collect few particulars of her but from the dry details of public history, which, with an exactness perhaps too fastidious, usually rejects those characteristic anecdotes in which biography delights. Other circumstances too have concurred to cloud her story. She was withdrawn from her country at an age too early to admit of much previous observation there, beyond such as the amiable qualities of her childhood might have excited, and placed among a people to whose phlegmatic gravity, and formal manners, those of her maturity were perhaps generally in a great measure indifferent. Above all she became an exile, experienced comparative poverty, and was neglected by her friends, and of the history of the unfortunate much will be always lost.

She was the only daughter of James the sixth of Scotland and Anne, his Queen, and was born in that country on the nineteenth of August, 1596. Her father, soon after his arrival to take possession of the crown of England, gave the charge of her education, with the name of preceptor, to John, first Lord Harrington, a nobleman not less qualified for that office by an acute judgement, and by the variety and elegance of his acquirements, than by the strictness of his morals, and the refined politeness of his manners. All that might have been expected from such a pupil, under such a director, was obtained, and when the customary etiquette of the Court at length allowed her to appear publicly in it, she became at once the object of general approbation, mixed with a tenderness of regard that almost deserved the name of love. Her

features were by no means faultless, but they abounded in that fascinating expression which may be called the soul of beauty, while the brilliancy of her understanding and accomplishments shone with a mild and inoffensive lustre through a veil of the purest simplicity and candour. Several suitors had aspired to her hand, the most remarkable of whom was the afterwards celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, for whom his parent and predecessor, Charles the Ninth of Sweden, demanded her in marriage by a formal embassy in 1609, and was refused. Her father at length determined to accede to the proposals of the Elector Palatine, Frederic the Fifth, who was the most powerful of the protestant Princes of the Empire, and owed his preference chiefly to James's warm attachment to that faith. Frederic arrived in London at the close of the year 1612, and, by a good fortune which rarely attends such marriages, not only became ardently enamoured of the Princess, but in an equal measure captivated her affections.

They were married in the banquetting-house at Whitehall on the fourteenth of February, 1613, N. S. with a splendor which historians, however carelessly they may have passed over the more important parts of Elizabeth's story, have not failed to commemorate with diffuse minuteness. Suffice it to say on this head, that the sum lavished on the celebration amounted to considerably more than one hundred thousand pounds, and that the jewels worn by the King and Queen, and the Prince of Wales, as Sir John Finett informs us, James himself declared "in conversation," were of the value of nine hundred thousand. In the meantime the portion of the bride was but forty thousand. The match was hailed by the utmost popular applause, but met with less favour at Court; the King treated it with indifference, and the Queen openly held it in aversion. She was used to call her daughter, in contempt, "Goodwife Palsgrave;" and the unfavourable opinion which Prince, afterwards King, Charles had formed of the bridegroom may be inferred from the coarse commencement of a short letter subsequently written by him to

the favourite Buckingham—"Steenie, I send you herewith letters to my sister and brother: I place them so because I think the grey mare the better horse." These prejudices however were confined to the royal family; for Finett, writing on the twenty-third of October, 1612, to Mr. Trumbull, the English Resident at Brussels, of Frederic's first appearance at the Court, says, "He hath most happily deceived good men's doubts and ill men's expectations; report of envy, malice, or weak judgement, having painted him in so ill colours as the most here, and especially our ladies and gentlewomen, who held themselves not a little interested in the handsome choice of her Grace's husband, prepared themselves to see that with sorrow which they now apprehend with much gladness." He was in fact a Prince by no means deficient in natural talents or accomplishments, but qualified neither by nature or art to direct the councils of a state, or to defend it in the field.

They remained in London till the tenth of April, when the King and Queen accompanied them to Rochester, and took leave of them there, and they embarked at Gravesend for Flushing, and proceeded in great pomp to Heidelburgh, the capital of the Palatinate. There for six years they reigned, with equal prosperity and popularity, in the most beautiful country, and perhaps over the happiest people of Germany, when in a moment of blind and silly ambition they sacrificed those incomparable advantages to the mere sound of a regal title, and an ill-founded reputation of independent sovereignty. The kingdom of Bohemia, originally elective, had been brought by the genius and power of Charles the fifth under the dominion of Austria, and rendered hereditary. Ferdinand, the fifth King of that House, was a zealous papist, and Bohemia had been called the cradle of the reformation. A powerful party opposed his election, for that form was still used, with great firmness. At length they openly revolted; formed a provisional government; and, having offered the crown to the Dukes of Savoy and Saxony, by whom it was successively refused,

were induced by their hopes from the good will and strength of his father-in-law to proffer it to the Elector Palatine. Frederic returned a cool answer, and demanded time to deliberate. James earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, and even forewarned him that in the event of an unprosperous issue he was to expect no assistance from England. The entreaties however of his own family, in which his lovely consort is said to have earnestly joined, at length prevailed, and she was crowned at Prague, on the seventh of November, 1619, three days after the coronation of her husband.

Ferdinand, who had lately become emperor, lost no time in issuing his Ban, declaring Frederic a traitor and rebel against the Empire, and deprived of his Electoral dignity and estate, and prepared to invade not only Bohemia but also the Palatinate. James, whom the English would have willingly supported in aiding his son-in-law with troops, kept his word, and would interfere no further than by various negotiations which had no other effect than to render him the scorn and ridicule of Europe. At length, on the ninth of November, 1620, Frederic was discomfited, under the walls of Prague, in one of the most decisive actions ever fought, and fled on the night of that fatal day, with his Queen, then great with child, to Breslau, one hundred and twenty miles from the field of battle. A letter written by her to her father, in the forlorn hour of her arrival there, remains in the British Museum.

"Je ne veux importuner V. M. d'un trop longue lettre. Le Baron de Dona ne faudra d'informer V. M. de malheur qui nous est arrivé, et nous a contraint de quitter Prague, et venir en ce lieu icy, ou Dieu sait combien nous y demeureronts. Je supplie donc treshumblement V. M. d'avoir soing du Roy et de moy en nous envoyant du secours, autrement nous serons du tout ruinez. Il n'y a que V. M. apres Dieu, de qui nous attendons ayde. Je la remercie treshumblement de la favorable declaration qu'il luy a

pleu faire pour la conservation du Palatinat. Je la supplie treshumblement de faire le mesme pour nous icy, et nous envoyer un bon secours pour nous defendre contre nous ennemis, autrement je ne say que nous deviendrons. Je la supplie donc encore d'avoir pitie de nous, et de n'abandoner le Roy a cest heur qu'il en a si grand besoign ; pour moy, je suis resolvé de ne le quitter, car si il perit je periroy aussi avec luy ; mais, quoyqu'il m'arrive, Je ne seray jamais autre que, Sire, de V. M. la treshumble et tresobeissante fille et servante,

Bresla, " ELIZABETH."
ce $\frac{23}{13}$ Novembre.

Nor was Frederic's attachment to her less constant or ardent. " Croyez, mon cher cœur," says he in a letter of later date, " que je me souhaite bien aprés de vous. Je vous ai déjà mandé ce que m'en retient ; plut a Dieu qu'eussions un petit coin au monde pour y vivre contents emsemble—ce tout le bonheur que je me souhaite."

The affectionate tenderness of her nature was blended with a magnanimity which misfortune could not impair, and a dignified purity of morals, and sense of female honour, which awed into due respect her numerous admirers : for she was actually beloved by many, even to adoration. The fierce and haughty Christian, Duke of Brunswick, her husband's most warlike ally, constantly wore her glove on his helmet ; the celebrated General, Count Thurn, was proud to acknowledge the influence of her charms ; and Lord Craven, who was a volunteer in Frederic's service, and of whom more will presently be said, was devoted to her, and continued her slave even to the end of her life. She was universally called in the army " the Queen of Hearts," and the soldiers were used to say that they fought as much for her as for the justice of her husband's cause. The complete overthrow of fortune which she had suffered, for Frederic was deprived by the battle of Prague not only of his kingdom but of his electorate,

scarcely drew from her an expression of regret, and his affection for her inspired him with the same passive heroism, for it did not belong to his nature. The anonymous writer of a letter in the Landsdowne MSS. speaking of them, after some detail of the battle, says—" Both of them, the Queen especially, do make all comers to be witnesses of their singular moderation, patience, devotion, and confidence in God; and this I would have you believe; that the world in many ages did hardly ever see such a pair of that rank; and surely this tribulation shall do them good."

They were presently driven from Breslau, and having wandered for some time in Silesia, removed into Brandenburgh, and at length settled in Holland, where they were supported more by the beneficence of the House of Nassau, and by the occasional contributions of several persons of rank in England, particularly Archbishop Abbot, than from the purse of her father. James contented himself by redoubling his embassies, and by indulging in idle reveries of compassing their restoration to the Palatinate through the interest with the House of Austria which he expected to found on the projected marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain. This weakness involved his daughter in the contempt which was properly due only to himself. Her misfortunes became in some measure the subject of vulgar satire. " She was represented in a print at Antwerp," says Wilson, in his Life of James, " as a poor Irish mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child at her back, and the King, her father, carrying the cradle after her." The accession of her brother to the crown of England brought with it some public promise of succour, and some actual exertion. Charles declared to his first Parliament on its meeting, that it was his intention to make the recovery of the Palatinate the primary object of his political consideration; little however was done till the King of Sweden, then at war with the Emperor, in 1632 proffered his best endeavours to that end, but on such hard conditions that Charles, in anger, broke up

the treaty in which they had been proposed, and recalled his ambassador from Stockholm. The unhappy Frederic, however, willing to cherish even the faintest hope, negotiated separately with Gustavus, when death cut short the views of both the parties: the heroic Swede fell at the battle of Lutzen on the sixth of November, in that year, and Frederic died at Mentz on the twenty-ninth of the same month, of an infectious fever which he had contracted at Frankfort.

Elizabeth remained at the Hague, living in the utmost privacy, her chief employment the education of her children, and her only relaxations of which we hear, an extended correspondence with men celebrated for powers of mind, and for various literary and scientific attainments, occasionally relieved by the amusements of hunting and shooting, in which she much delighted. The management of her domestic affairs, and indeed of all matters in which her interests or her comforts were concerned, she committed to Lord Craven, who had entered the military service of the States of Holland that he might be near to her. The most perfect friendship and confidence, and the most open and unreserved intimacy subsisted between them, yet such was the public opinion, or rather feeling, excited by that harmony of general correctness which had always distinguished her, that not a breath of slander ever fell on their connexion. It was at length believed, and probably most justly, that they had been privately married. She professed the protestant persuasion without ostentation, but practised it with unalterable firmness of resolution. Her brother, Charles, at a moment when her affairs were in a state of the deepest depression, dispatched Sir Henry Vane to represent to her the prudence of sending her eldest son to Vienna, to be bred a catholic, in the view of matching him to a Princess of the House of Austria, but she answered that, rather than take a step at once so mean and so wicked, she would put him to death with her own hands. A bitter and reciprocal dislike subsisted between Elizabeth and the eccentric Christina of Sweden. This is said

to have arisen out of a mutual jealousy on their respective intimacies with eminent men of letters, but the following epistle from Elizabeth to Sir Edward Nicholas will at least shew that she had other causes of aversion. It is not perhaps so much for the sake of elucidating that point as to give a specimen of the liveliness of her mind and style that I here insert it.

" Mr. Secretarie, Haghe, Dec. 3, 1654.

" I received your's at Berghen, whither I was come from Antwerp and Bruxells. I find you have unriddled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sweden at the play. She is extravagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well-favoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players that knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxells, where I saw the Arch-Duc at Mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgins. I lay at Sr. Harry de Vic's, who was verie carefull and diligent to do me all the service he coulde. I staid but Sunday at Bruxells, and returned to Antwerp upon Monday, and hearing from Duart how the Queene of Sweden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indifferent place, I made the more hast away the next day, because I had no mind to speak with her, since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King, my dear brother, and the King, my dear nephue, and indeed of all our nation; so I avoided it, and went away as soon as I had dined; yet she sent Donoy to me with a very civill message, that she was sorie she could not use that civilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day we might meet together with more freedome. I answered her as civillie as I coulde, and now, when I went from Berghen, I gave Sr. Will. Swann charge to make her a complement from me.

" I came hither upon Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princes of Zollern, who was with me, and was my guide all the jorney, and defrayed me.

Her daughter is now so prettie everie way that you would like her yett better than ever you did if you saw her. She is much growen, and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her. She has a great deal of witt, and loves our nation extreamlie. It makes me think of your wish, which I am not against, you know. By this post I have had verie good news of the Duke of Glocester's constantie in his religion, and of my Lo. of Ormond's handsome carriage in that business, so as the Queen saith she will press him no further in it; but I hope the King will not trust to it, but get him away from thence, which will doe the King great right. It is so colde as I can say no more, but am ever

"Your most affectionat friend."

She was unfortunate in her heir, Charles Lewis, to whom the Lower Palatinate was restored in 1648, on condition of his renouncing his title to the Upper. He appears to have been mean, selfish, and unfeeling. He came to England at the age of eighteen, and was received with kindness and flattering distinctions, but in the beginning of the rebellion left the King at York, and went to Holland; returned in the following year; and, while his younger brothers, Rupert and Maurice, were fighting bravely in the cause of their royal uncle, went over to the Parliament, and actually condescended to sit in what was called the assembly of divines at Westminster. It has been supposed that this strange conduct was the result of a secret agreement between the King and himself: a conjecture altogether incredible. He treated his mother with unkindness, and even denied her trifling pecuniary aids towards the maintenance of her little œconomical household, when he had been for some years competent to relieve her. She thus expostulates with him in a letter published in Bromley's collection, which contains also another, of the same tenor, written some years after,

"Son,

"I send this by the post to let you know that the States have given me for my kitchen one thousand guilders a month till I shall be able to go from hence, which God knows how and when that will be for my debts; wherefore I earnestly entreat you to do so much for me as to augment that money which you give me, and then I shall make a shift to live a little something reasonable; and you did always promise me that as your country bettered you would increase my means till you were able to give me my jointure. I do not ask you much. If you would add but what you did hint you would do me a great kindness by it, and make me see you have still an affection for me, and put me in a confidence of it. Since you cannot yet pay me all that is my due, that will shew to the world you desire it if you could. I pray do this for me. You will much comfort me by it, who am in so ill a condition that it takes all my contentment from me. I am making my house as little as I can, that I may subsist by the little I have till I shall be able to come to you, which (since I cannot do because of my debts, which I am not able to pay, neither the new nor the old) if you do not as I desire you, I am sure I shall not increase. As you love me, I do conjure you to give me an answer, and by the time commonly, and you will tie me to continue, as I am most truly,

"Yours, &c."

Haghe, $\frac{13}{23}$ August, 1655.

She remained however under these forlorn circumstances till the restoration of her nephew, Charles the second, who invited her to pass the remainder of her life in England, a proposal which she most readily accepted. She arrived in London on the seventeenth of May, 1661, with Lord Craven, and took up her residence in his house in Drury Lane, where she remained till the following February, on the eighth of which month, as we learn from Mr. Evelyn's Diary, she removed to Leicester House, and died there

on the thirteenth, only five days after she had entered it. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, in a vault made for the interment of her brother, Henry, Prince of Wales.

The issue of the Queen of Bohemia was eight sons, and five daughters. 1, Frederic Henry, who was drowned, or rather frozen to death, in his fifteenth year, at Haërlem, on the seventh of January, 1629, in the sight of his unfortunate father; 2, Charles Lewis, who has been lately mentioned; 3, Rupert; 4, Maurice; both of whom hold places of some distinction in English history; 5, Lewis, who died an infant; 6, Edward; 7, Philip, who fell in battle in Germany, at the age of twenty-three; 8, Gustavus, who also died in infancy. Her daughters were, 1, Elizabeth, Abbess of Hervorden, in Westphalia, one of the wisest and most learned women of the age in which she lived, to whom Descartes dedicated his "Principia," and declared that she was the only person he knew who perfectly comprehended his works, and with whom William Penn frequently conferred on the system of his new colony, and on the principles and doctrine of his sect; 2, Louisa Hollandina, Abbess of Maubuisson, in France, highly celebrated for her skill in the fine arts, especially painting, many proofs of which are preserved, and highly esteemed, in the continental cabinets; 3, Henrietta Mary, married to Sigismond Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania; 4, Charlotte, who died an infant; and, 5, Sophia, a Princess distinguished by every virtue, and every accomplishment, who became the consort of Ernest, Elector of Hanover, and carried the inheritance of the Crown of these realms into his illustrious House, in which may it please the Almighty to the end of time to maintain it in all happiness and glory.

Engraved by J. Thomson.

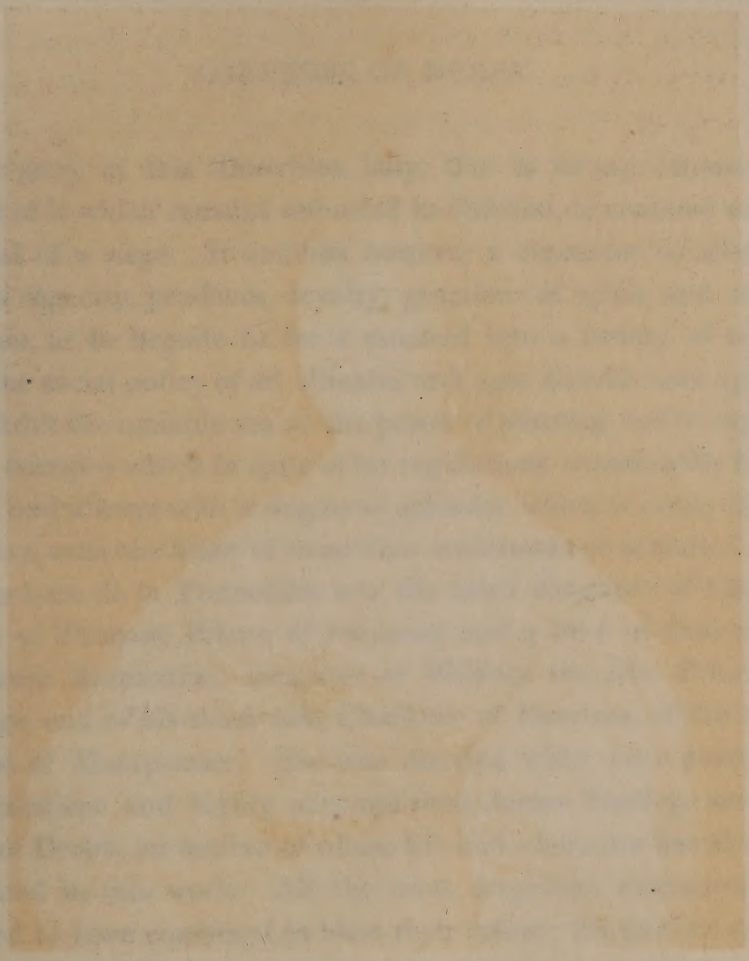
CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOUILLE, COUNTESS OF DERBY.

OB. 1663.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF DERBY.

London. Published April 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOÜILLE,

COUNTESS OF DERBY.

The story of this illustrious lady, that is to say, almost the whole of it which remains unburied in oblivion, is confined to the journal of a siege. It exhibits however a character so abounding in sagacity, prudence, loyalty, grandeur of spirit, and active heroism, as to beguile us for a moment into a feeling of regret that the social policy of all climates and ages should have agreed to restrict the amiable sex to the power of pleasing, and to repress those energies which in spite of its regulations occasionally burst forth, and always with a degree of splendor which is rarely found to adorn even the finest of masculine sentiments or actions.

Charlotte de la Tremoüille was the third daughter of Claude, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Palmont, and a Peer of France, by Charlotte Brabantina, daughter of William the first Prince of Orange, and of his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, of the royal House of Montpensier. She was married when very young to the excellent and highly accomplished James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, an outline of whose life and character has already appeared in this work. All the most propitious circumstances seemed to have combined to bless their union: the purest mutual affection; congenial talents and tempers; a numerous and beloved progeny; the most exalted birth, with immense revenues; and the whole crowned by a just reputation for the practice of all virtues. This marvellous picture of almost superhuman felicity was doomed to be torn in pieces, and scattered to the winds, by the accursed demon of faction and rebellion.

The Earl, her husband, was among the first of the nobility who hastened to surround King Charles the first after his declaration

of war in the year 1642. He presented himself to his Sovereign at Shrewsbury, at the head of three regiments of infantry, and as many troops of horse, raised, clothed, and armed, solely at his own charge. It was thought proper to retain this force with the main army, and to dispatch the Earl back into Lancashire, his own country, that he might exert his great influence there in encouraging the gentry to further levies; and, having so done, with very extensive effect, and performed some gallant actions with a small body of new recruits, intelligence was received that the rebels had formed a design to seize the Isle of Man, of which he was hereditary Lord. He was now suddenly ordered thither, and his Lady and family being then resident in his noble mansion of Lathom, a building which required little to render it in some degree defensible, he threw into it a few soldiers, together with such arms, ammunition, and sustenance, as the time would allow him to collect, and having committed it, together with his children, and the management of all his English concerns, to the charge of the Countess, hastily departed.

He had scarcely reached the Isle when the Countess received certain intelligence that her house would shortly be attacked. She lost no time therefore in strengthening her little garrison, by increasing her provisions and military stores, and admitting singly, or in small parties, such neighbours of the middling and lower classes as might be depended on. Mingling these with the servants of the family, she formed the whole into six regiments, at the head of which she placed as many gentlemen of the county, and gave the command in chief to a Captain Farmer, a Scot, who had served with reputation in the Low Country wars, and was afterwards slain at Marston Moor, and these arrangements had been made with such caution and secresy that the rebels had no expectation of resistance till they had arrived within two miles of the house. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1644, they arrived, led by Fairfax himself, who sent a trumpet to require a conference with the Countess, to which she agreed, and

detained the messenger, says my authority, while, " to make the best show she could, she placed her inefficient and unarmed men on the walls, and tops of the towers, and marshalled all her soldiers in good order, with their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court to the great hall," in which she calmly awaited his visit. Their meeting was ceremonious and courteous. Fairfax informed her that he was commissioned to offer her an honourable and secure removal, with her children, retinue, and property, arms and ammunition excepted, to Knowsley Hall, another of the family seats; an engagement that she should reside there without molestation; and the moiety of the Earl's estate for her support. She answered that " she was under a double trust—of faith to her husband, and allegiance to her Sovereign, and desired to have a month to consider her answer; and, this being denied, rejoined that " she hoped then he would excuse her if she preserved her honour and obedience, though perhaps to her own ruin."

Fairfax departed, and was for some days doubtful whether to attack Lathom by storm or by siege, when he was determined by the artifice of one of the Earl's chaplains, a Mr. Rutter, who, happening to have some conversation with a rebel officer, his acquaintance, insinuated to him that the military force of the garrison was abundant, but that it had not fourteen days provision. This false intelligence was presently conveyed to Fairfax, who in consequence resolved against a summary assault, and, at the end of a fortnight accordingly, sent in military form to demand an immediate surrender. The Countess replied that " she had not yet forgotten what she owed to the Church of England to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till she had lost her honour or her life she would defend that place." The rebels presently began to form their trenches, when, on the twenty-fourth of March, she ordered a sally of two hundred men, who attacked them; slew about sixty, and took some prisoners; with the loss on her side only of two. The enemy now doubled their

guard, and began to draw their lines at a greater distance, but were so interrupted by sallies that fourteen weeks had passed before they could complete them. This however done, they gradually approached the moat by which the house was surrounded, and at length mounted a strong battery, and particularly a mortar of large calibre, a shell thrown from which fell into an apartment in which the Countess and her children were at dinner. They escaped unhurt, and the heroine instantly ordered another sally, in which they were again worsted, and all their guns spiked, or thrown into the moat, except that mortar, which was triumphantly dragged into the house. This remarkable exploit was performed on the twenty-sixth of April, the very day fixed on by the rebels for a general assault, in which it had been determined to give no quarter. They were employed for several days in repairing their works, during which they were incessantly annoyed by the besieged, and had no sooner accomplished it, when the garrison once more dispersed them; again spiked their cannon; and killed one hundred of their soldiers, losing only three men, and five or six wounded. In most of all these affairs the Countess was personally present, and frequently in great danger. Her conduct united the most exemplary piety with the most determined courage. Every action was prefaced by devout prayer; every success acknowledged by humble thanksgiving.

More than three months had now passed since the commencement of the siege, in which the rebels confessed themselves to have lost two thousand men, when Fairfax, chagrined by its ill success, removed the officer who had hitherto commanded before Lathom, and appointed a Colonel Rigby, whose principal recommendation was a private enmity to the Earl of Derby. He had no sooner arrived than he manifested this disposition by a new summons to surrender, conveyed in affronting terms, to which the Countess herself replied—"Trumpet, tell that insolent rebel, Rigby, that if he presume to send another summons within this place, I will have the messenger hanged up at the gates."

The garrison however was now reduced to the greatest distress. Their ammunition and their corn were spent, and they had killed for food nearly all their horses. The Earl now hastened from Man, to solicit relief for them, which Prince Rupert, who was then marching his army to York, was directed to give, and Rigby, on receiving intelligence of this expected succour, raised the siege on the twenty-seventh of May, 1644.

The Countess now accompanied her Lord in his return to the Isle of Man. On the fatal decline of the royal cause, his great estates were confiscated. He continued however to hold that island for the King with a firmness which the rebel Parliament, to its eternal disgrace, avenged by detaining his children, who came to England to solicit relief from it, on the faith of a pass from Fairfax, for eighteen months in the harshest captivity. The incomparable pair remained on the Island, protected and supported by its simple people, who adored them, till the fruitless enterprize of Charles the second in 1651, when the Earl flew to his aid, and perished in his cause. On the twelfth of October in that year, two days before he was beheaded by the rebels, he wrote the following exquisite letter to his Countess, inestimable in this place, inasmuch as it lays before us the most important features of her character, drawn by the dying hand of him who knew her best.

" My dear Heart,

" I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but alas I have now no word of comfort, saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit; and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths, judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on him with tears for mercy.

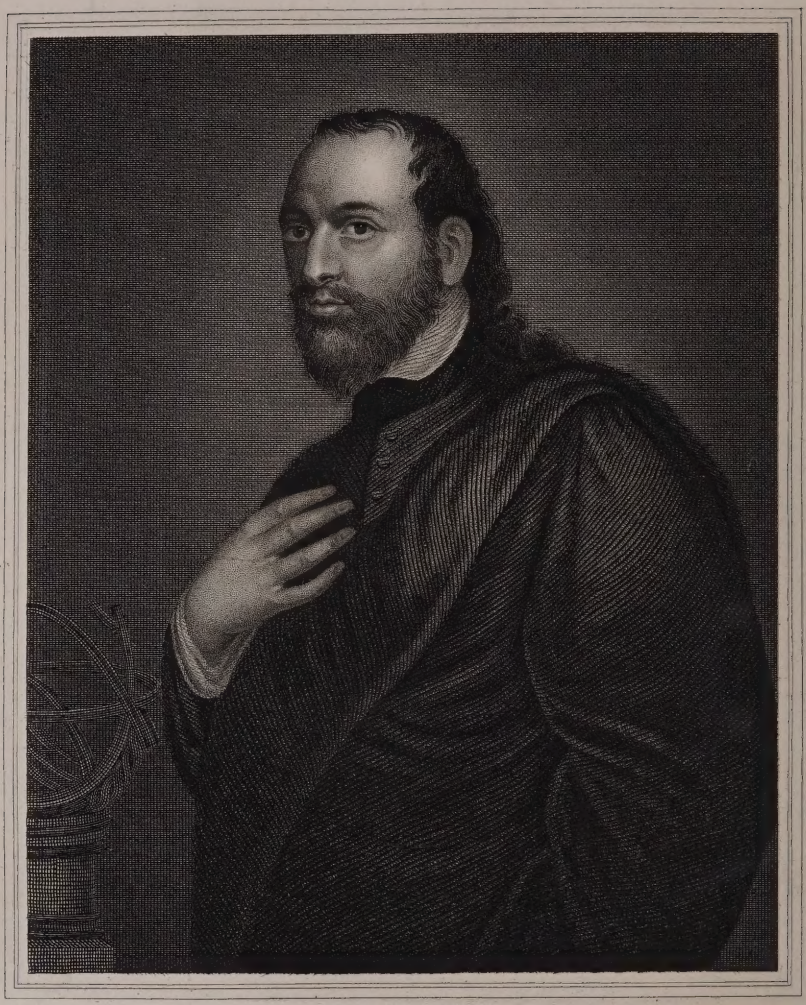
" The governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield, is general of

the forces which are now going against the Isle of Man; and, however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome thing to resist, especially those that at this hour command the three nations; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is that you would make conditions for yourself, and children, and servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may get to some place of rest, where you may not be concerned in war, and, taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them: then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinion.

" I conjure you, my dearest Heart, by all those graces that God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed; and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children; then take comfort, and God will bless you. I acknowledge the great goodness of God to have given me such a wife as you—so great an honour to my family—so excellent a companion to me—so pious—so much of all that can be said of good I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon with all my soul that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit; and where I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask your pardon. I have no more to say to you at this time than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy—Amen, sweet Jesus!"

The unhappy Countess remained in Man, her little kingdom in her better days, ruling it in indigence; her health broken down by grief, but her spirit still unsubdued. At length a wretch of the name of Christian, whom the Earl had cherished from his childhood, and to whom at his final departure he had committed the care of his lady and their offspring, as well as the command

of the Infantry of the Island, betrayed it to the enemy. The Countess and her children were for a time rigorously imprisoned, but at length suffered to wander in obscurity, actually subsisting on the alms of their impoverished friends. Thus they languished till the Restoration, when the family estates returned of course into the possession of their eldest son. She passed the short remainder of her days at his seat at Knowsley Hall, in Lancashire, and dying there on the twenty-first of March, 1663, was buried at Ormskirk, in that county.



Engraved by Thos Wright.

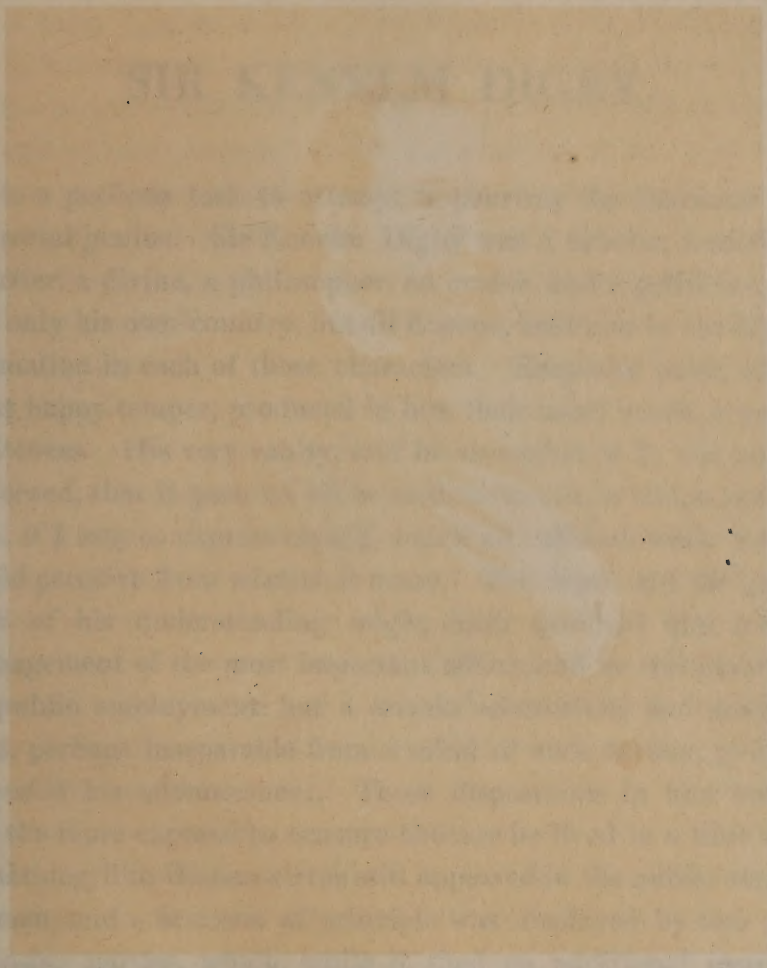
SIR KENELM DIGBY.

OB. 1665.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

London, Published Oct.1,1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR KENELM DIGBY.

It is a perilous task to attempt to pourtray the character of a universal genius. Sir Kenelm Digby was a scholar, a soldier, a courtier, a divine, a philosopher, an orator, and a politician, and not only his own country, but all Europe, held him in the highest estimation in each of those characters. Exquisite parts, with a most happy temper, produced in him their usual result, a perfect politeness. His very vanity, and he abounded in it, was so well governed, that it gave to all he said, or wrote, or did, a peculiar zest, if I may so express myself, which all relished, while no one could perceive from whence it came. The depth and the quickness of his understanding might have qualified him for the management of the most important affairs, and he was ambitious of public employment, but a certain eccentricity and unsteadiness, perhaps inseparable from a mind of such variety, probably impeded his advancement. Those dispositions in him became too the more exposed to censure because he lived in a time when something like Roman virtue still appeared in the public conduct of men, and a firmness of principle was displayed by two great opposing parties, which, while it shed an additional lustre on loyalty, lent an ornament even to rebellion. With respect to his philosophy, it would be difficult to say whether his succeeding so immediately as he did to the illustrious Bacon might be deemed more fortunate or disadvantageous to him; since, in profiting largely by the discoveries of that sage, he lost, through the carelessness of some, and the malignity of others, the credit of originality. The truth however is, that Digby not only gave form and birth to many of Bacon's mighty conceptions, but that those who may have courage enough to turn for a while from

more fashionable systems, will find in his works many inventions which had escaped the observation of his profound predecessor.

The public circumstances of his time perhaps contributed equally with the singularities of his nature to render his life as various as his character. It may be said that their operation commenced when he had scarcely left his cradle, for he was the son and heir of that accomplished gentleman and frantic bigot, Sir Everard Digby, who suffered death in 1606 for his concern in the gunpowder treason. His mother was the daughter, and sole heir, of William Mulsho, of Gothurst, in Buckinghamshire, and her ample fortune, as well as the paternal estates, had fortunately been so firmly settled on the issue of her marriage, that the Court of Wards found itself obliged to adjudge them to the heir male, in spite of a claim made by the Crown under the attainder of the father. Kenelm, concerning the precise date of whose birth there has been some contest, appears to have been born on the eleventh of June, 1603. His mother, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, submitted for obvious reasons, to his being bred at least under Protestant forms, and it is said, that the early part of his education was superintended by the celebrated Laud, at that time Dean of Gloucester. In 1618 he was sent to Oxford, and entered of Gloucester Hall, where the direction of his studies was committed to the care of Mr. Thomas Allen, a man of the highest reputation for ability and erudition, who accepted that charge, not in the ordinary character of a college tutor, but from affection to the family of his pupil, and for the gratification of cultivating a genius which had already shewn abundant signs of pre-eminence. He remained little more than two years at the University, which having quitted with the most brilliant reputation, he set out on the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, from whence he returned in 1623, and on the 23d of October in that year received from King James, at the house of Lord Montague, at Hinchinbroke, the honour of knighthood, so seldom bestowed on one of his years.

On the accession of Charles the First, which occurred soon after, Sir Kenelm Digby became one of the chief ornaments of Whitehall. Charles, who did not love gaiety, highly esteemed him however for his admirable talents; but to the Queen, who, before her misfortunes, had a very lively disposition, he rendered himself infinitely agreeable, and she seems to have conceived a friendship for him which lasted through life. He was a party in all the royal diversions, which indeed he frequently planned and directed, and such were the volatility of his spirits, and the careless elegance of his manners, that it should have seemed that he had been bred from his infancy in a court. He obtained the office of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and was soon after, an odd mixture of employments, appointed a Commissioner of the Navy. In 1628 he was suddenly called from the study and the drawing room to assume the character of a naval commander, and was sent, at the head of a squadron, to chastise the Venetians and Algerines, who had of late infested the English trade in the Mediterranean by their piracies. In this expedition he was completely successful, for, having taken many of the Moorish armed vessels, and liberated the English slaves who were in them, he attacked the Venetian gallies, and totally routed them. These actions, by which he acquired considerable fame of a new character, were fought near Scanderoon, on the 16th of June.

On his return he relapsed into the student; purchased the valuable collection of manuscripts and printed books of his early friend Mr. Allen, of Gloucester Hall, the use of which he allowed to that gentleman while he lived; and soon after his decease, in 1632, nobly gave them to the Bodleian Library. He now applied himself with much earnestness to the study of religious controversy, with the view, as he confesses, to strengthen an inclination which he had formed to abandon the protestant persuasion. He wavered however for four years, but in 1636 finally reconciled himself to the Church of Rome, in spite of the arguments of Archbishop Laud, his correspondence with whom on that subject,

full of a charity and moderation which did honour to the hearts of both parties, is still extant. He was at that time in France, where he long remained, employing himself in composing elaborate arguments in defence of his lately adopted faith, which he afterwards put forth, in two publications, under the titles of, "A Conference with a Lady about Choice of Religion," and "Letters between Lord George Digby, and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion;" the one in 1638, the other not till 1651. There was an air of candour in thus publishing both sides of a controversy, which, whether it arose from the humility of doubt, or the arrogance of superiority, certainly gained him much credit. The Roman Catholics triumphed, as well they might, on the accession of such a person to their communion; and the Queen, their great patroness, received him on his return to England, with much grace and confidence, and immediately employed him in the management of an affair, his conduct in which, while it increased her esteem for him, rendered him obnoxious to the party which was then aspiring to that ascendancy in Parliament which, unhappily for the country, it soon after gained. The King, with a very scanty purse, was preparing for a war with the Scots, and had called on his subjects for such aid as they might be willing to lend him. The wealthiest of the protestant clergy and laity had contributed liberally, and the Queen, anxious that those of her religion should imitate the example, engaged Sir Kenelm, and Mr. Walter Montague, to compose a kind of circular letter to excite them, which was dispersed throughout the kingdom, and procured considerable sums. The House of Commons resented this proceeding, and in January, 1640, Sir Kenelm was called to the bar, and questioned on it. He is said to have answered with simplicity and candour, and the Queen herself having sent an explanatory message to the House, it seemed, for the time, to be satisfied: but the offence was not forgotten, for in the address which was sometime after presented, requiring the King to remove the Roman Catholics

from his presence and his Court, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Walter Montague, were particularly named.

His conduct, indeed, in that affair had subjected him to a lasting suspicion. On the breaking out of the grand rebellion, which soon followed, he was imprisoned, by order of the Parliament, in Winchester House, from whence he was released, in the Autumn of 1643, at the instance of the Queen Dowager of France, on condition that he should transport himself forthwith to France. On this occasion he subscribed a declaration, more prudent than honest, in which he promised, " on the faith of a christian, and the word of a gentleman," neither directly nor indirectly, to negociate, promote, consent unto, or conceal, any practice or design prejudicial to the honour or safety of the Parliament. Before his departure, however, he was strictly examined before a committee, as to an alledged correspondence between Archbishop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly on the question whether a Cardinal's hat had been offered by the Pope to that Prelate, which, with many other rumours equally absurd and incredible, had been invented in the House to inflame the minds of the people. His pen had not been unemployed during his confinement: We have two pieces written by him in Winchester House; the one intituled " Observations on *Religio Medici*, occasionally written by Sir K. D. Knt." This small piece, printed in 1643, and addressed to his great friend, Edward Earl of Dorset, is said to have been written in one night, an assertion which seems to be contradicted by the word " occasionally" in the title. The other, though hastily composed, is a little work of deep reflection; " Observations on the twenty-second stanza, in the ninth canto of the second book of Spenser's Fairy Queen," in a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, published in 1644.

He was received in France even with rapture. The extent of his natural talents and his learning, and the gay variety of his conversation, captivated a people equally ingenious and volatile.

He passed a considerable part of his time in the Court, where he was a great favourite with the Queen Dowager, as well as in the most refined private societies of Paris; and then, as seems to have been his custom, suddenly withdrew himself wholly to his studies. He now digested and reduced to order the particulars of a philosophical system on which he had long speculated, and which he published at Paris in 1644, in two parts, under the titles of "a Treatise of the Nature of Bodies," and "a Treatise declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of reasonable Souls is evinced." This, which may be esteemed, in every point of consideration, as his greatest work, exalted his reputation to the utmost, and the feeble attacks made on it by Alexander Ross, and by some writers on the continent, served but to increase the number of its students, both at home and abroad. He wrote also, soon after, in Latin, "Five Books of Peripatetic Institutions, with a Theological Appendix concerning the Origin of the World," which were not printed till 1651.

The final subversion of Monarchy in England called him home. He had lost his eldest son in the faint struggle made by the Earl of Holland on the part of the King, and had otherwise partaken largely in the misfortunes of that sad period. He was scarcely allowed time to manage a composition for his estate, which, however, as we shall see presently, was not the sole object of his journey, when the Parliament ordered him to withdraw, and forbade him to return, without leave of the House, under pain of death. He fled once more into France where he joined the little Court of Henrietta Maria, who had lately appointed him her Chancellor, and by whom, not long after his arrival, he was sent as her Envoy to Pope Innocent the Tenth. He is said to have disgusted the pontiff by the unreasonable haughtiness and freedom of his behaviour, a charge ill suited to the general character of his temper and breeding. "At first," says Aubrey, in some curious notices of Sir Kenelm, from which I shall have occasion

to make larger extracts, " he was mightily admired; but after some time he grew high, and hectored at his Holiness, and gave him the lie. The Pope said he was mad." Wood, who gives nearly the same account, adds, what may be feared was the true occasion of his quarrel with the Pope, that, " having made a collection of money for the afflicted Catholics in England, he was found to be no faithful steward in that matter."

Cromwell, having crushed the Long Parliament, and assumed the sovereign power, Sir Kenelm returned to England, and to the great surprise and regret of all parties, seemed presently to acquire some degree of intimacy, and even favour, with the usurper. Time has unveiled the mystery of this seemingly unnatural connection. The publication of the Duke of Ormond's papers has proved that, even from the hour of the death of Charles, Digby had meditated the restoration of his own religion in England, by joining the Roman Catholics and the King's murderers in one common cause. Lord Byron, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, of the first of March, 1649, from Caen, in Normandy, says, " Sir Kenelm Digby, with some other Romanists, accompanied with one Watson, an Independent, who hath brought them passes from Fairfax, is gone for England, to join the interests of all the English Papists with that bloody party that murdered the King, in the opposition and extirpation of monarchial government; or if that government be thought fit, yet that it shall be by election, and not by succession, as formerly provided: that a free exercise of the Romish religion be granted, and of all other religions whatsoever, excepting that which was established by law in the Church of England," &c. And a letter in the same collection from a Dr. Winstead, a physician at Rouen, to Secretary Nicholas, of a date somewhat earlier, after reciting a long conversation between himself and Sir Kenelm, when the latter was about to embark, concludes—" The plot, as I am told, about which Sir Kenelm Digby is employed as agent to treat with those horrid rebels, the Independents of England, is

for the subversion of successive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of religions there, except that of the Church of England according to the practice thereof." Here then we find the cause of the severity of the Long Parliament towards Digby, when he visited England for the alledged purpose of compounding for his estates, as well as the motive to the grace with which he was now received by Cromwell, to whom doubtless he came to reiterate the same proposals, perhaps somewhat modified with regard to hereditary succession. That Cromwell should have sought to fortify his dominion by gaining over the English Catholics, adds nothing to the weight of crime and infamy which loads his memory; but for the treachery thus imputed to Digby, the most fervid affection to his religious faith which we could ascribe to him would furnish no extenuation; and, however painful it may be to believe the story, it is scarcely possible to doubt the truth of it.

Having remained in England for a considerable time, he went again to the continent in 1656, and travelled through France and Germany, fixing his residence occasionally for long intervals in different cities, and collecting and bestowing treasure in every branch of science. Amidst these refined pursuits, however, he found time to correspond with Secretary Thurloe, with professions, on his part, of the firmest attachment to the person and government of Cromwell; after whose death, and during the rapid dissolution of the system which he had framed, Digby returned to Paris to await the event. Immediately after the restoration, he came to London, and, though the King and his ministers were well apprised of the intrigues which have lately been mentioned, was received at Court, at least, with great complaisance. It would have been surprising indeed had he been treated with confidence.

In composing this memoir, I have purposely omitted many small circumstances of Sir Kenelm's story, for the sake of giving

them in the dress in which they appear in a late very choice publication of papers in the Bodleian and Ashmolean libraries, which closes with a collection of biographical memorandums, loosely strung together under the several heads to which they belong, by the pen of the singular John Aubrey. Those who read biography with a true taste and feeling, well know how much the life and freshness of such unstudied notices fade in being reduced even to the best form of regular narrative.

" Sir Kenelm Digby," says Aubrey, " was a great traveller, and understood ten or twelve languages. He was not only master of a good and graceful judicious style, but he also wrote a delicate hand, both fast hand, and Roman."

" He was such a goodly handsome person, and had so graceful elocution, and noble address, that had he been dropt out of the clouds in any part of the world he would have made himself respected; but the Jesuits spake spitefully, and said 'twas true, but then he must not stay there above six weeks. He was well versed in all kinds of learning: and he had also this virtue; that no man knew better how to abound, and to be abased, and either was indifferent to him: No man became grandeur better; sometimes again he would live only with a lackey, and horse with a footcloth. He was very generous and liberal to deserving persons."

" Much against his mother's, &c. consent, he married that celebrated beauty, and courtesan, Mrs. Venetia Stanley, whom Richard, Earl of Dorset kept as his concubine, had children by her, and settled on her an annuity of five hundred pounds per annum, which, after Sir K. D. married, was unpaid by the Earl. Sir Kenelm sued the Earl, after marriage, and recovered it. He would say that a handsome lusty man, that was discreet, might make a virtuous wife out of a brothel house. This lady carried herself blamelessly, yet they say he was jealous of her. She died in her bed suddenly; some suspected that she was poisoned.

When her head was opened there was found but little brain, which her husband imputed to her drinking of viper wine; but spiteful women would say that it was a viper husband, who was jealous of her. Once a year the Earl of Dorset invited her and Sir Kenelm to dinner, where the Earl would behold her with much passion, and only kiss her hand. After her death, to avoid envy and scandal, he retired into Gresham College, at London, where he diverted himself with his chemistry, and the professor's good conversation. He wore there a long mourning cloak; a high cornered hat; his beard unshorn; looked like an hermit; as signs of sorrow for his beloved wife, to whose memory he erected a sumptuous monument, now quite destroyed by the great couflagration. He was a person of extraordinary strength. I remember one at Sherbourne, relating to the Earl of Bristol, protested to us that as he, being a middling man, being set in a chair, Sir Kenelme took him up, chair and all, with one arm. He was of an undaunted courage, yet not apt in the least to give offence. His conversation was both ingenious and innocent."

"There is in print, in French, and also in English, translated by Mr. James Howell, a speech that he made at a philosophical assembly at Montpellier, 165.. of the sympathetique powder. He made a speech at the beginning of the meeting of the Royal Society, of the vegetation of plants. He was born to three thousand pounds per annum. His ancient seat, I think, is Gotehurst, in Buckinghamshire. He had a fair estate also in Rutlandshire. What by reason of the civil wars, and his generous mind, he contracted great debts; and, I know not how, there being a great falling out between him and his then only son, John, he settled his estate upon Cornwalleys, a subtle solicitor, and also a member of the House of Commons, who did put Mr. John Digby to much charge in law. Sir John Hoskyns informs me that Sir Kenelm Digby did translate Petronius Arbiter into English," &c. &c.

Sir Kenelm Digby survived the restoration about five years, which he passed rather in the enjoyment than in the active prosecution of science. He lived entirely in London, and established in his house, in Covent Garden, those literary assemblies to which he had been accustomed in France, and which he seems first to have introduced in this country. He had been for several years afflicted by the stone, and in the autumn and winter of 1664 his attacks of that cruel disease so frequently recurred as to reduce him to a state of extreme weakness. He was preparing however for one more visit to Paris, when a most violent paroxysm carried him off on his birthday, the eleventh of June, in the following year. He was buried in Christ-Church within Newgate, where, several years before his death, he had erected a superb monument in memory of his wife. By the unbridled frailties of that lady, the Earl of Dorset having been but one of many favoured lovers, much of the noblest blood of England was dishonoured, for she was the daughter of Sir Edward Stanley, Knight of the Bath, grandson of the great Edward, Earl of Derby, by Lucy, daughter and coheir of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Sir Kenelm left by her an only child, John Digby, who certainly inherited, though under many disadvantages and vexations, the most part of his father's estates. In him the male line of his branch of the Digbies became extinct, for he had by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in Bucks, two daughters only; Margaret Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey, in Flintshire, and Charlotte Theophila, to Richard Mostyn, of Penbeddw, in the same county.

In addition to the works which have already been mentioned, several small tracts have been published under the name of Sir Kenelm Digby.—A discourse delivered before the Royal Society on the Vegetation of Plants.—Choice Receipts in Physic and Chirurgery.—Cordial and distilled Water and Spirits, Perfumes, and other Curiosities.—His Closet opened, wherein is discovered

several ways of making Wines.—Excellent Directions for Cookery.—Choice Collection of rare chemical Secrets," &c. But there is reason to suspect that all these, except the first, were the gleanings of his laboratory, put together, and published after his death, by the servant who assisted him in his philosophical experiments.

Engraved by W. Finden.

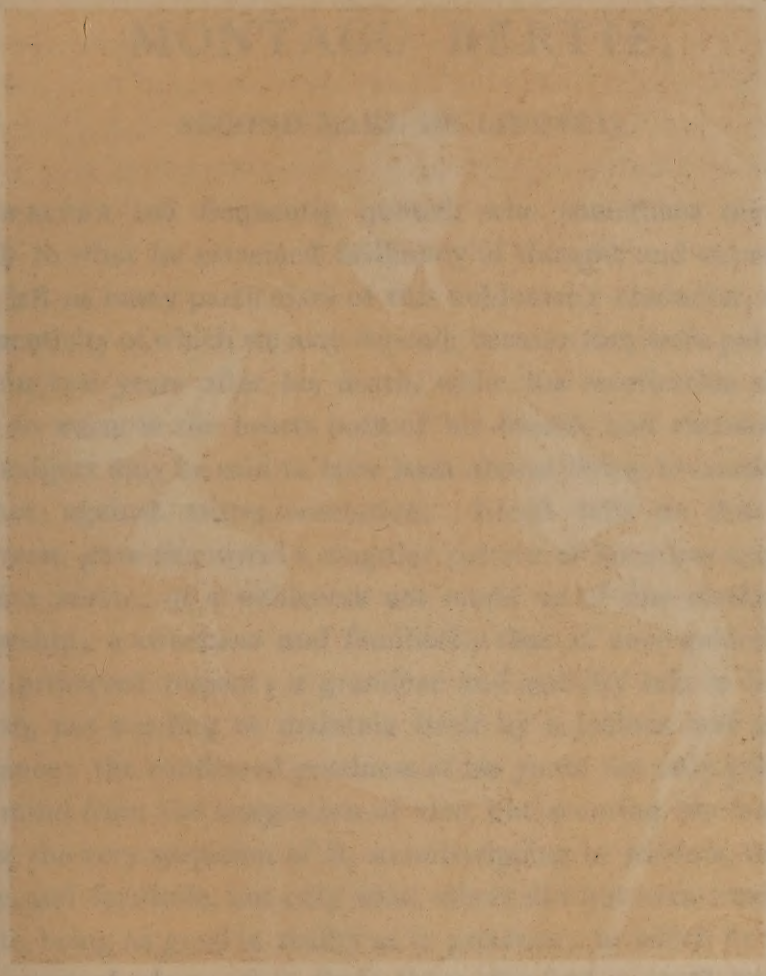
MONTAGU BERTIE, EARL OF LINDSEY.

OB. 1666.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE BARONESS WILLOUGHBY OF ERESBY.

London Published Aug^st 1.1830, by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East.



MONTAGU BERTIE,

SECOND EARL OF LINDSEY.

A WRITER too frequently quoted, who sometimes sacrificed truth to what he esteemed brilliancy of thought and expression, has left us many particulars of this nobleman's character, on the authenticity of which we may depend, because they were published within two years after his death, while the recollection of him was so warm in the hearts both of his friends and enemies, that the subject may be said to have been almost living to caution the author against misrepresentation. Lloyd tells us that " his converse gave the world a singular pattern of harmless and inoffensive mirth; of a nobleness not made up of fine clothes and courtship; a sweetness and familiarity that at once gained love, and preserved respect; a grandeur and nobility safe in its own worth, not needing to maintain itself by a jealous and morose distance; the confirmed goodness of his youth not only guarding his mind from the temptation of vice, but securing his fame too from the very suspicion of it, so outstripping in wisdom, temperance, and fortitude, not only what others did but even what they wrote, being as good in reality as in pretence; to which he added this unusual glory—that, since there was but a small partition between the King's of Judah's beds and the altar, through which they said David had a secret passage (arguing the nearness there should be between religion and honour) and that the Cross was an ornament to the Crown, and much more to the Coronet, he satisfied not himself with the bare exercise of virtue, but he sublimated it, and made it grace." Lloyd adds, in more words than it is convenient here to use, that he was educated with great care, and that he prosecuted his tour of the continent with a contempt

of the inconveniences then incident to it, and a spirit of observation and enquiry, uncommon in young men of his rank; and that " the result of these and other advantages, was a competent skill in arts, especially philosophy, mathematics, physic, and the two parts belonging to it, chirurgery and botanism."

He was born in the year 1608, the eldest son of that admirable example of honour, loyalty and courage, Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who was in 1626 created Earl of Lindsey, by Elizabeth, only child of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton. Having served as a volunteer in two or three campaigns in Flanders, which was then esteemed the conclusion almost necessary of a nobleman's education, he returned to the Court, where his father was highly esteemed, and was appointed a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and soon after Captain of the King's Life Guard. In those capacities he attended Charles on his journey into Scotland in 1639, and seems to have gained at that time not only the favour but the cordial friendship of that Prince, from whose person he was for several years after that period never, but in one instance, for many days together absent. At the commencement of the rebellion he was named one of the Commissioners of Array, and at the battle of Edgehill, in which his father was General in Chief of the army, under the King, who was present, was stationed, at the head of the guards, next to the General's regiment. It is well known that the fortune of that day, in which the King had at first the advantage, was marred by the absence of the horse, which, under the command of Prince Rupert, had engaged in an imprudent pursuit. In the unfortunate interval before their return the reserve of the rebels, under Sir William Balfour, made a furious attack on the King's infantry, especially in the quarter where the General stood, for he was on foot, and he fell into their hands, after the most heroic resistance, severely, and as it proved, fatally wounded. Montagu, then Lord Willoughby, under the impulse of a filial love which for the time suspended all reflection, rushed, almost alone,

amidst the captors, and was overpowered by their numbers, while desperately fighting his way towards his father, who on the following day, the twenty-fourth of October, 1642, died in his arms, leaving him Earl of Lindsey, and a prisoner in the hands of the rebels.

Amidst the confusion, and multiplicity of cares, necessarily following such an action, the King's almost first attention seems to have been directed to him. A trumpet was dispatched to the enemy, with proposals for his release, and with the following letter to himself.

Lindsey,

You cannot be more sensible, as I believe, of your father's loss than myself; his death confirming the estimation I had of him. As for yourself, the double suffering you have had for my sake, both in your father's person and your own, puts upon me the stricter obligation, not only to restore you to your liberty, now unjustly detained from you, but also to shew the world by my actions how really I am

Your assured and constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Aynho, 27 Oct. 1642.

The King however had reckoned too favourably of the justice and generosity of those who were opposed to him. They refused to accept any exchange for Lindsey; and, from their knowledge of his exalted fidelity, or of his military skill or bravery, or perhaps from mere malice, detained him till the eleventh of August, in the following year, when he was liberated, it does not appear on what terms, and joining the King at Oxford, became one of his prime counsellors for the future conduct of the war.

He would however exercise no command beyond that of his old regiment, the Life Guard, at the head of which he was actively and valiantly engaged at both the battles of Newbury, at Cropredy Bridge, in several actions in Cornwall, and, finally,

in the battle of Naseby, where he was wounded. It was there that his master's fate may be said to have been unhappily decided; and as Charles never after commanded personally in the field, so Lindsey, who had almost always fought as it were by his side, now retired from military service. He continued in constant attendance on the King till his Majesty fatally put himself into the hands of the Scots, and then, with his approbation, surrendered, with the Duke of Richmond, and others of Charles's best friends, to the rebel army, and, after an imprisonment of some duration, was released on his parole. He now constantly employed himself in various efforts to promote some sort of accommodation between the King and the Parliament, from which his known honour and integrity extorted a respect rarely shewn by that body to any of the royal party. At length, after a separation of two years, he was permitted, at the particular request of the King, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, again to wait on him, and was appointed by him a commissioner for the treaty of Newport, which, as it is needless to inform the historical reader, was cut short by the abrupt seizure of the King's person by Cromwell's emissaries, almost in the hour when Lindsey, who had obtained some hint of the design, was earnestly pressing him to avoid its consequences by instant flight. Within two months from this precise period the bloody stroke which terminated the miseries of this unhappy and blameless Prince had fallen on him. Lindsey had been still allowed to pay his daily duty, and the King, on the day before his death, in distributing to a few eminent persons some books, to be kept by them as tokens of his regard, gave him the now almost forgotten romance "Cassandra." He was one of the four noblemen who petitioned for, and obtained, permission to attend the royal corpse to its unseemly interment.

After the King's death he remained in England, still a prisoner on parole, suffering severely from time to time by arbitrary fines and sequestrations, and labouring incessantly for the royal cause,

but with such secrecy and prudence as to elude always the vigilance of the rebels, except in a single instance, when in 1655, he was accused of high treason against the spurious government, and suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, on charges too obscure and doubtful to warrant even the lawless crew which composed it in bringing him to tryal. At the restoration he was received but with that moderate grace which Charles the second, with more policy than feeling, generally bestowed at that time on his father's firmest friends. He was sworn of the Privy Council, and on the first of April, 1661, elected a Knight of the Garter, a favour which it seems he owed to the intercession of Lord Clarendon, to whom the King had sent the Duke of York to offer it to himself. Clarendon modestly declined it, but, as he tells us in his memoirs of his own life, " he desired his Highness to put the King in mind of the Earl of Lindsey (with whom he was known to have no friendship: on the contrary, that there had been disgusts between them in the last King's time)—That his father had lost his life with the Garter about his neck, when this gentleman, his son, endeavouring to relieve him, was taken prisoner—that he had served the King to the end of the war with courage and fidelity, being an excellent officer; for all which the King his father had admitted him a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, which office he was now without: and not to have the Garter now, upon his Majesty's return, would in all men's eyes look like a degradation, and an instance of his Majesty's disesteem, especially if the Chancellor should supply the place, who was not thought his friend. So the Earl of Lindsey was created Knight of the Garter, and coming afterwards to hear by what chance it was, he ever lived with great civility towards the Chancellor to his death." He owed no other favours to the Crown, for the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, which he exercised at the coronation, devolved on him by inheritance, and is at this day vested in his blood under the same right.

Montagu, Earl of Lindsey, died at Campden House, in the

parish of Kensington, near London, on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1666, and was buried at Edenham, in the county of Lincoln. He was twice married ; first, to Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayne, of Rushton, in the county of Northampton (ancestor to the Viscounts Cullen of Ireland) and widow of John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness. By this lady he had five sons ; Robert, his successor, whose son and heir was created Duke of Ancaster ; Peregrine ; Richard ; Vere ; and Charles ; and three daughters ; Elizabeth, married to Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden ; Bridget, to Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards created Duke of Leeds, &c. ; and Catherine, to Robert Dormer, of Dourton, in Bucks. His second Countess was Bridget, daughter and heir of Edward, third son of Sir William Wray, of Glentworth, in Lincolnshire, Bart. (by Elizabeth, his wife, who was daughter and heir to Francis Lord Norreys, and Earl of Berkshire) and had issue by her ; James, who became Lord Norreys in right of his maternal descent, and was afterwards created Earl of Abingdon ; Henry ; and one daughter, Mary, married to Charles Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

EDWARD SOMERSET, MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

OB. 1667.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

London, Published Jan.1st 1833 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

EDWARD SOMERSET,

SECOND MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

Though much has been written of this nobleman, it can scarcely be doubted that the most important facts of his story remain untold, and indeed undiscovered, nor do we know where to seek them. He was a statesman, a philosopher, and a mechanician, and in each of those stations a mystic. He was a man of parts, or a madman, or both; yet Charles the first, who had a cool head, and could estimate characters with a just and cautious judgement, thought him worthy, not only of the most implicit confidence, but of a degree of favour so splendid as to amount to a partition with himself of many of the faculties of regality. If an affectionate regard to the person of his Sovereign, perhaps even surpassed by the most earnest devotion to the kingly office, merited such distinctions, no man could have better deserved them. Certainly none ever gave more ample proof of the sincerity of those dispositions, for he sacrificed to them all that the world deems estimable, except his honour.

He was the eldest of the nine sons of Henry, the first Marquis, by Anne, the only child of John, Lord Russell, who died in the life-time of his father, Francis, second Earl of Bedford, to whom he was heir apparent. The date of his birth is not known, nor have the circumstances of his early life been recorded. His earnest attachment, in common with the whole of his family, to the ancient faith kept him probably unconnected with a Court which regarded that profession at least with jealousy, while an ardent inclination to the severest scientific studies must have rendered retirement not only delightful but even necessary to his nature and his habits. He had gratified it too in extensive

foreign travel, and had gleaned, in a long absence, the most curious intelligence that Europe could afford in every branch of the useful arts. It is not strange then that we should be almost without intelligence of him till the commencement of the grand rebellion, when he joined the royal standard, with his father, who had been lately created Marquis of Worcester, and was soon after appointed to command an army raised by that great royalist and himself in Wales. We find the parliament, in their petition presented to the King at Oxford in January, 1643, N. S. complaining "that he had made the Lord Herbert of Ragland," (the title then used by this nobleman) "and other Papists, commanders of great forces;" and requiring "that he may be restrained from coming within the verge of the Court, and that he may not bear any office, or have any employments concerning State or Commonwealth." Charles answered this part of their petition by presently after appointing the Lord Herbert his governor of South Wales. "There were," says Lord Clarendon, "in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that employment to that noble Lord: first, he had no knowledge or experience in the martial profession: then his religion, being of that sort of Catholics the people rendered odious by accusing it to be most jesuited, men apprehended would produce a greater brand upon the King of favouring papists and popery than he had yet been reproached with. This gave opportunity and excuse to many persons of quality and great interest in those counties, between whom and that lord's family there has been perpetual feuds and animosities, to lessen their zeal to the King's cause out of jealousy to the other's religion, and those contestations had been lately improved, with some sharpness, by the Lord Herbert's carriage towards the Lord Marquis of Hertford, to whom the King had committed the government of North Wales." The noble historian however confesses that he was one "whose person many men loved, and very few hated; that he was in truth of a civil and obliging nature, and of a fair and gentle

carriage towards all men; and a man of more than ordinary affection and reverence to the person of the King, and one who he was sure would neither deceive nor betray him."

With these recommendations and objections Lord Herbert placed himself at the head of a body of fifteen hundred infantry, and five hundred Horse, and marched, in the middle of February, 1643, towards Gloucester, which was then held by the rebels, intending to besiege it, in concert with a part of the royal army under Prince Maurice, which already blockaded it on the other side. On his way, in passing through a little disaffected village in the forest of Deane, called Cover, Colonel Lawley, a brave and practised officer, whom he had appointed his Lieutenant General, and to whom he looked for correction of his own inexperience, was killed by a shot from a window. Lord Herbert was at the moment with the King at Oxford, but his brother, the Lord John Somerset, who commanded the Horse, continued the march through the forest, and at length arrived, without further interruption, at the Bishop of Gloucester's palace, called the Vineyard, within half a mile of the town, where he took up his quarters, a position which gave him the controul of the bridge over the Severn. In the mean time Sir William Waller, with two thousand of the rebel Horse, made a rapid march, mostly in the night, from Chichester, and, having caused a report to be previously spread that he intended to attack Cirencester, crossed the river in several flat bottomed boats which he had appointed to be ready six miles west of Gloucester, and presented himself, as it should seem altogether unexpectedly, before the astonished Welchmen. These, though equal in number to the rebels; with advantage of position; and secured by entrenchments against any sudden attack; were seized by a panic; and, instantly sending out to treat, surrendered, without a shot fired, or a sword drawn on either side, on the mere grant of quarter. "A submission," to use again the words of Lord Clarendon, "so like a stratagem that the enemy could hardly trust it." Waller sent

thirteen hundred infantry, and three troops of Horse, prisoners into Gloucester; the rest dispersed themselves, and were re-collected by Lord Herbert, who, in spite of the discouragement, immediately applied himself to the repair of his loss by new levies. A tide however of ill success pursued him, and he became at length wholly unpopular, as well among his troops as in his country. In the succeeding summer he resigned his military command to Sir William Vavasour, retaining only the title of the King's Lieutenant in South Wales.

It may seem strange that, contrary to the custom in earlier times of disgracing Generals because their measures had been unfortunate, Charles should have chosen this very period to advance Lord Herbert to a degree of trust and power, and dignity, never at any other time bestowed on a subject. On the first of April, 1644, the King executed the following stupendous commission or warrant, which remains in the office of the Signet, and, though already to be found in print, must of necessity have a place in this memoir.

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right trusty, and right well-beloved Cosin, Edward Somerset, alias Plantagenet, Lord Herbert, Baron Beaufort of Caldicote, Grismond, Chepstow, Ragland, and Gower; Earl of Glamorgan, Son and Heir apparent of our intirely beloved Cousin, Henry, Earl and Marquis of Worcester, greeting. Having had good and long experience of your prowess, prudence and fidelity, do make choice, and by these nominate and appoint you, our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin, Edward Somerset, &c. to be our Generalissimo of three Armies, English, Irish, and Foreign, and Admiral of a Fleet at Sea, with power to recommend your Lieutenant-General for our approbation, leaving all other officers to your own election and denomination, and accordingly to receive their commission from you; willing and commanding them, and every of them, you to obey, as their General, and you to receive imme-

diate orders from ourself only. And lest, through distance of place, we may be misinformed, we will and command you to reply unto us, if any of our orders should thwart or hinder any of your designs for our service. And there being necessary great sums of money to the carrying on so chargeable an employment, which we have not to furnish you withal, we do by these impower you to contract with any of our loving subjects of England, Ireland, and dominion of Wales, for wardships, customs, woods, or any our rights and prerogatives; we by these obliging ourselves, our heirs and successors, to confirm and make good the same accordingly. And for persons of generosity, for whom titles of honour are most desirable, we have entrusted you with several patents under our great seal of England, from a Marquis to a Baronet, which we give you full power and authority to date and dispose of without knowing our future pleasure; so great is our trust and confidence in you as that whatsoever you do contract for or promise we will make good the same accordingly, from the date of this our Commission forwards, which, for the better satisfaction, We give you leave to give them, or any of them, copies thereof, attested under your hand, and seal of arms. And, for your own encouragement, and in token of our gratitude, We give and allow you henceforward such fees, titles, pre-eminences, and privileges, as do and may belong unto your place and command abovementioned; with promise of our dear daughter, Elizabeth, to your son, Plantagenet, in marriage, with three hundred thousand pounds in dower, or portion, most part whereof we acknowledge spent and disbursed by your father and you in our service; and the title of Duke of Somerset, to you and your heirs male for ever; and from henceforward to give the Garter to your arms, and at your pleasure to put on the George, and blue ribband. And, for your greater honour, and in testimony of our reality, We have with our own hand affixed our Great Seal of England unto these our Commission and Letters, making them patent. Witness Ourself, at Oxford, the first day of April,

in the twentieth year of our Reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty-four."

What were the King's motives to these most extravagant concessions is a question which might seem to set all conjecture at defiance. The sacrifices of Herbert and his family had been noble and unbounded, but it is a duty in a sovereign to limit his bounty, and indeed it is difficult to conceive the degree of merit which could have called for such excessive rewards; neither was it Charles's foible to be over prodigal of his favours. If they were meant to purchase future services, what were they? and what could have been expected from Herbert? His talents, of whatsoever order they might have been, were certainly not of a character to replace fallen Crowns, or to reconcile outrageously contending parties; his splendid patrimony was already nearly exhausted; and with it had fled his local influence. Circumstances of great singularity however occurred shortly after the date of the warrant which seem to offer a solution of these difficulties. Charles's situation was at that moment truly desperate. Every where unsuccessful in the Field; his friends dispirited; their pecuniary resources dissipated; a Scottish army added to the number of his enemies; and the whole system of government menaced, not less than his Crown, by a new-born and nameless party, equally bold, cunning, and malignant, which was hourly increasing; no reasonable hope remained for him but in some effort of a desperate nature, hitherto wholly untried. His Catholic subjects were exceedingly numerous, loyally disposed, and great wealth was divided among them, but, from circumstances of which it is needless to remind the historical reader, they were unconnectedly scattered over the face of the three kingdoms, and had remained inactive, but not indifferent, spectators of the vast contest. If we examine the state of the King's affairs at that unhappy epoch, we shall find that the only vigorous and comprehensive expedient which could afford him even a chance of redeeming them from utter ruin was to incorporate those

dispersed parties, and bring them collectively into action. To accomplish this great end it was necessary to employ the agency of a servant of the purest fidelity to his person as well as to his crown; of the firmest resolution; of high rank, and of gracious and conciliating manners and temper; and above all, of an invincible zeal and constancy in the Romish faith. The due performance of such a service required a delegation of the most extensive powers; the imminent peril to be incurred by him who should undertake it challenged the most brilliant rewards. Herbert was perhaps the only man about the King in whom were combined all the qualifications which it demanded.

Assuming then, what really appears more than probable, but on which we have not here room for further argument, that Charles at that period meditated the employment of a great Catholic army against his rebellious subjects, let us resume our notices of Herbert, now called Earl of Glamorgan, at the point of time in which they will seem to justify such a conjecture, as well as to connect him with the enterprize in question.

A rebellion without disloyalty, if an expression seemingly so paradoxical may be allowed, had for nearly three years raged in Ireland. It was in fact a horribly ferocious crusade against the protestants. It may be said that the government of the island was at that time divided between the King's Lieutenant and the Pope's Nuncio, who held a sort of Court at Kilkenny, and mixed with an absolute spiritual authority no small degree of independence in temporal affairs. To that Prelate, and the Catholic chieftains by whom he was surrounded, Lord Herbert was sent by the King, in the summer of 1645, on a special mission, the objects of which have never been completely divulged. It appears that the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Ormonde, was not entirely ignorant of them, but the extreme caution used by him throughout the whole affair, leaves us in doubt whether he was apprized of their full extent. Herbert's first visit was of course to that nobleman, who further accredited him to the leaders of the

Catholics. A letter from Ormonde, of the eleventh of August, to one of them, Lord Muskery, which seems to have had scarcely any other purpose, concludes thus—"What I have to say is this; that I know no subject in England upon whose favour and authority with his Majesty, and real and innate nobility, you can better rely than upon his Lordship's." Herbert now proceeded to conclude a treaty of peace with the Council of Kilkenny, by which they agreed to furnish an army of ten thousand men, to serve Charles in England, and he granted, in the King's name, the most complete toleration to the Catholic worship throughout Ireland. While the levy was in progress, and Herbert preparing to take the command, that singular person George Lord Digby, who held the now almost nominal office of a Secretary of State to Charles, arrived in Dublin, as it were in a private character, for he was a fugitive from recent military defeat, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, accused Herbert at the Council Table of having counterfeited the King's order authorizing the treaty, and demanded that he should be arrested on suspicion of high treason. Ormonde and the Council acquiesced, and Herbert was committed to the Castle of Dublin. The King wrote to Ormonde, declaring his approbation of these steps; as did Secretary Nicholas on the following day, loading Herbert with blame, and ascribing his conduct to the fury of his zeal, and to weakness of intellect. Nay, so highly did Charles seem to resent it, that we find in the Secretary's letter this bitter passage—"The King has commanded me to advertise your Lordship that the patent for making the said Lord Herbert of Ragland Earl of Glamorgan is not passed the Great Seal here, so as he is no Peer of this kingdom, notwithstanding he styles himself, and hath treated with the rebels in Ireland, by the name of the Earl of Glamorgan, which is as vainly taken upon him as his pretended warrant, if any such there be, was surreptitiously gotten:" Herbert however had been liberated, at the earnest intreaty of the Catholics, before the arrival of these letters, upon his own recognizance of

twenty thousand pounds, and those of the Earls of Clanricarde and Kildare, of ten thousand each, for his appearance on thirty days' notice.

These criminal charges, and demonstrations of anger, were wholly groundless and affected, yet, such was Herbert's profound devotion to his master, that he endured them, and the scorn and obloquy which followed them, with a patience truly magnanimous. They had arisen from a mere accident. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam was killed by a random shot from the garrison of Sligo, and a copy of the articles was found in his pocket. They were presently dispatched to London, to the rebel parliament, where they became eminently useful in justifying the unceasing outcry of that body against the King's inclination to favour Popery. Charles had no other means of counteracting the mischiefs consequent on this premature discovery than by a direct disclaimer on his own part, corroborated by the subsequent steps to which we have just now referred. He wrote accordingly to the Parliament, on the twenty-ninth of January, 1646, N. S. in terms little differing from those which he had dispatched to Ormonde and the Irish Council, and designated Herbert's treaty as " highly derogatory from his Majesty's honour and royal dignity, and most prejudicial unto the protestant religion and Church there in Ireland." Doubtless all this was done with Herbert's privity and concurrence. Charles was in the mean time in regular correspondence with him, always addressing him as Earl of Glamorgan. Herbert refused to relinquish the command of the troops raised in conformity to the treaty; persevered in a constant communication with the heads of the Catholics assembled at Kilkenny; and on the tenth of March availed himself of one of the great faculties with which the extraordinary warrant of the first of April, 1644, had invested him, by offering to the Nuncio to confer the dignity of the peerage on six of them, and to create one Earl, two Viscounts, and three Barons. The views however

which his great spirit had, in spite of all disadvantages, still cherished, at length sunk under the chilling influence of his master's denial, artificial as it was, of his authority. The Catholics disbanded the troops which they had raised under it, and negotiated a new treaty with Ormonde: Charles indeed, the centre of his hopes and his affections, was presently after stript of all power, and became a sort of captive in the hands of the Scots. The following letter from the unhappy Prince, immediately after he fell into that thraldom, is a document of peculiar value to this memoir, inasmuch as it tends powerfully to support the conjecture lately proposed, which might otherwise seem to some persons to savour of extravagance, by proving that he considered his Catholic subjects as his forlorn hope, while it demonstrates the perfect confidence and esteem in which he held the nobleman of whom we are treating.

" Glamorgan,

I am not so strictly guarded but that, if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind, I having always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is as dear to me as my own. If you can raise a large sum of money by pawning my kingdoms I am content you should do it; and if I recover them, I will fully repay that money. And tell the Nuncio that if I can come into his and your hands, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, (since all the rest, as I see, despise me,) I will do it: and, if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next, to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends, to none of whom am I so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards

me exceed all expressions that can be used by your constant friend,

From Newcastle, July 20, 1646. CHARLES R."

The memory of the ill-fated Charles has been rudely attacked, and pusillanimously defended, in idle disquisitions on the question of his right to use the services of his Catholic subjects of Ireland against his English rebels. Dr. Birch, with more candour than is usually to be met with in a Whig controversialist, has laboriously ransacked every source of authority and argument, and produced a large volume, to establish the negative. Mr. Carte, in the true spirit of Tory complaisance to what are now called liberal principles, evades the assertion of any direct affirmative, and rests his defence on the supposition that Herbert fabricated his commissions, and that the King was sincere in his expressions of disapprobation. So confined a view of the question was scarcely worthy of the trouble of these demonstrations of boldness by the one, and cowardice by the other. If they had looked a little further they would have met with coincident probabilities, amounting collectively almost to certainty, that it was Charles's intention to make a grand and final effort for the redemption of his regal authority by the aid of the whole mass of his Catholic subjects—a measure unprohibited by any law or regulation, divine or human, religious, moral, or political.

That such was the King's intention there can be scarcely a reasonable doubt, for can it be supposed that Herbert was invested with the vast and unprecedented authority conferred by the singular instrument of the first of April, 1644, merely to qualify him to treat for a peace with a body comparatively at that time so insignificant as the Irish rebels, and to raise so moderate a force as ten thousand men? No—the great plan was to be first opened in Ireland, for there, and there only, were Catholics to be found congregated, and already in arms. But this is no place for further argument on the point in question, which indeed has perhaps

already been too largely discussed here. The censure which, seemingly in a too cautious policy, the dispirited Charles had affected to cast on Lord Herbert blasted all his succeeding efforts. He left Ireland, with George Leybourn, a Catholic priest, and chaplain to Henrietta Maria, who had been sent thither in the preceding year by the Prince of Wales, as his general agent to all parties, and arrived in Paris in March, 1648, N. S. having succeeded to the dignities of his aged and persecuted father in the preceding December.

He remained in France till the Restoration, taking no part, as it should seem, either in the political plans, or the little intrigues, of the exiled Court. On his return with the King in 1660, one of the first objects of parliamentary attention was the remarkable warrant, or, as we shall presently find it called, Patent, which we have had occasion so frequently to mention. On the eighteenth of August, 1660, the House of Lords appointed a Committee " to consider of a Patent granted to the Marquis of Worcester which is a prejudice to other Peers." The Marquis, on the twenty-third, informed the House that " the Patent was made to him upon conditions on his part to be performed, which he hath not performed, and is willing therefore to submit it to be surrendered, or otherwise disposed, as the King should appoint;" and it was accordingly delivered up to the King on the third of September following, and thus this remarkable instrument became involved in greater mystery than before, for the conditions were never disclosed. The Marquis devoted the long leisure which his absence in France had afforded to the study of experimental philosophy and mechanics, to which he had always been passionately attached; and in 1663 published in London a syllabus of the results of his labours, with this title—" A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Invention as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected, which, (my former notes being lost) I have, at the instance of a powerful friend, endeavoured now to set these down in such a way as may suffi-

ciently instruct me to put any of them in practice." It is a mere catalogue of ænigmas, with this difference, that if we had them before us at length, we could not but find most of them absolutely incapable of solution. As a proof of this, as well as a specimen of the whole, take the very first article of the "Century"—

"Several sorts of seals, some shewing by screws, others by gages, fastening or unfastening all the marks at once; others by additional points, and imaginary places, proportionable to ordinary escocheons and seals at arms, each way palpably and punctually setting down (yet private from all but the owner, and by his assent) the day of the month, the day of the week, the month of the year, the year of our Lord, the names of the witnesses, and the individual place where any thing was sealed, though in ten thousand several places, together with the very number of lines contained in a contract, whereby falsification may be discovered and manifestly proved, being upon good grounds suspected. Upon any of these seals a man may keep accompts of receipts and disbursements from one farthing to an hundred millions, punctually shewing each pound, shilling, penny, or farthing. By these seals likewise any letter, though written but in English, may be understood in eight several languages, and in English itself, to clean contrary and different sense, unknown to any but the correspondent, and not to be read or understood by him neither, if opened before it arrive unto him, so that neither threats, nor hope of reward, can make him reveal the secret, the letter having been intercepted, and first opened by the enemy; and ten thousand persons may use these seals to all and every of the purposes aforesaid, and yet keep their secrets from any but whom they please."

Those who may wish to know more of this strange little book, which certainly savours much of a disordered imagination, may find it rather largely treated of in Mr. Park's edition of Lord Orford's royal and noble Authors. To return to the really worthy projector of the prodigies enumerated in it, who, with the too

common fate of the zealous servants of the late King, seems to have been wholly neglected after the Restoration, it only remains to be added that he died on the third of April, 1667, and was buried at Ragland, in Monmouthshire, having been twice married; first to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Dormer, (son and heir to Robert, first Lord Dormer, in whose lifetime he died) by whom he had an only son, Henry, who in 1682 was created Duke of Beaufort; and two daughters; Anne, who became the first wife of Henry Frederic, third Earl of Arundel of the Howards; and Elizabeth, married to William Herbert, first Marquis of Powys. The Marquis of Worcester's second lady was Margaret, daughter to Henry Obrien, Earl of Thomond, who had by him a daughter, Mary, who died an infant.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

OB. 1667.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published April 1 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY,

FOURTH EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

It has been, I believe, remarked in some other part of this work that the lives of persons of constant and exalted virtue furnish subjects unfavourable to the pen of the biographer, and the observation is largely justified by the memorials, or rather deficiency of memorials, which have been preserved of this nobleman, probably one of the greatest, and certainly one of the best, men of his time. The details of his private, and indeed of his public, life are meagre and uninteresting; but two eminent writers, of minds, and tempers, and principles, different almost to contrariety; the one a loyalist, of severe justice and truth, tempered by cordial kindness; the other a factious partisan, and censorious, even to malignity; have so nearly agreed in the views which they have left us of his character, that no room is left for doubt of its excellence.

He was the second, but only surviving, son of Henry, the third Earl, the friend of Essex, and patron of Shakespeare, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire. His education commenced at Eton school, was completed at Magdalen College, in Oxford, which he left with the fame of considerable erudition and general learning, and went to the continent, and long sojourned in France, where he probably married his first Lady, and afterwards in the Low Countries, taking no part however, as it should seem, in the military affairs which then distracted that unhappy land. Soon after his return, he became disgusted at some of the high measures of the government, with the additional motive of having received some personal offence from it, and had a particular prejudice against the Earl of

Strafford. The leaders therefore of the discontented party in Parliament applied themselves to him with the utmost eagerness and courtesy, and spared no pains to obtain his countenance and support, but he presently discerned the disloyalty which lurked at the root of their designs, and abandoned, or rather in a great measure forbore to take any concern, in their councils or transactions. We scarcely hear of him therefore in public affairs till the year 1641, when he, and an other peer, the Lord Robartes, refused their assent to the protestation against plots and conspiracies proposed by Mr. Pym, which was, on the third of May, in that year signed by every other member present at the time in each of the two Houses. This first demonstration of principles from which he never after in the smallest degree swerved was furiously resented by the Commons, who presently voted that "what person soever who should not take the protestation was unfit to bear office in the Church or Commonwealth." He was soon after sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed a Lord of the King's Bedchamber; attended Charles on his final departure from London in the autumn; and became from that time the King's chief secret adviser in all important matters relating to either; while he published without hesitation his firm attachment to the Crown by making himself a party in almost all negotiations with the Parliament.

The warmth of this unalterable disposition in him was however tempered by a happy mixture of prudence. Thus, though with great difficulty, he prevailed on Charles, soon after he set up his standard at Nottingham, to make an offer of peace to the Parliament. So averse was he to this step that Southampton, who slept in his chamber on the night that it was decided on, declared that the King had passed it sleepless, and in agony; and he is reported to have burst into tears when he consented to the measure. The Earl was himself the messenger, accompanied by two members of the House of Commons, and the insolence of the rebels on this occasion is well known. On his entering the House

of Peers, he was not allowed to take his seat, and having been in a manner turned out, they sent a gentleman usher after him to require his message, to whom he replied, that he had been commanded by the King to deliver it himself, and must do so, unless prohibited by a positive order from the House, which they instantly voted. He sent it accordingly by their officer, who presently after returned with their direction "that he should, at his peril, immediately depart the town, and that they would take care that their answer should be sent to him." Such was the first of the long series of indignities which Charles was doomed to receive at the hands of his infatuated Parliament.

The management of the fruitless treaty with the rebel commissioners at Oxford in 1643 was committed chiefly to Southampton. Whitelock tells us that he stood by the King daily during the progress of it, whispering to him and advising him; in the succeeding year he was appointed one of the Council for the Prince of Wales; and was soon after sent, with the Duke of Richmond, to London, to settle with the two Houses of Parliament, and the Deputies from Scotland, the preliminaries for the treaty of Uxbridge, which speedily followed, and for which also he was appointed a commissioner, and was peculiarly distinguished by his discretion and activity in that character. When Charles fled from Hampton Court in November 1647, in the fatally vain hope of quitting England, he took a short refuge in Southampton's house in Tichfield, in Hampshire; and when soon after he returned to the same palace, in bondage in the hands of the army, one of his first requests was that he might be allowed to have the attendance of that nobleman. Southampton was perhaps the very last of the faithful servants who were torn from his person, and was certainly one of the four who were permitted to pay the last solemn duties, in darkness and privacy, to the royal remains.

He was permitted, such is the respect which exemplary goodness may extort even from the worst of mankind, to remain in

England in peace and safety, and contrived to maintain with impunity a useful correspondence with the young King, whom he supplied from time to time with great sums. On the Restoration, he was received with every mark of kindness and gratitude by the King, who, on his way to London, invested him at Canterbury with the Order of the Garter, into which he had been several years before elected, and, shortly after, appointed him Lord High Treasurer. Of his conduct in the immediate affairs of that office we shall presently have some report from an acute contemporary of his, and it seems to have been his desire to confine to them as much as possible his whole ministerial attention, for he had a spirit which could not condescend to mix in the contemptible intrigues and factions which disgraced most of the statesmen and courtiers of that reign. He was of the Committee appointed by the King for the negotiation of the treaty of marriage to Catherine of Braganza, after which we scarcely hear of him till 1663, when he opposed to his utmost, both in the Council and in Parliament, the bill for liberty of conscience, as it was called, by which Charles proposed to allow, in fact to sell for money, an universal toleration. The King was highly offended, but the Treasurer was not removed; nor could all the efforts of a party, not less crafty than powerful, which then surrounded the throne, and which immediately seized the opportunity, and rose against him, prevail on Charles to dismiss him, and so he held the office for the brief remainder of his life.

His dear and most intimate friend Lord Clarendon has left us the following character of him—" The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the King's cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and, being born a younger brother, and his father and elder brother dying upon the point together whilst he was but a boy, he was at first much troubled to be called " my Lord," and with the noise of attendance, so much he then delighted to be alone. He had a great spirit. He never had any conversation

in the Court, nor obligation to it; on the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it, which made it believed that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. He was a man of great sharpness of judgement, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate, that no man delivered himself more advantageously and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon, the Court, or purpose to have any, but wholly pursued the public interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bedchamber, and refused both honours the rather, because after he had refused a protestation which both Houses had ordered to be taken by all their members they had likewise voted that no man should be capable of any preferment in Church or State who refused to take the same, and he would shew how much he contemned those votes. He went with the King to York; was most solicitous for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was with him at Edge Hill; and came and staid with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war."

Bishop Burnet, who hated monarchy and royalists, says "the Earl of Southampton was a man of great virtue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehension and a good judgement. He had merited much by his constant adhering to the King's (Charles the second's) interest during the war, and by the large supplies he had sent him every year during his exile, for he had a great estate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treasurer, but he soon grew weary of business, for he was subject to the stone, which returned often and violently upon him, and

he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent measures of the Court. When he saw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of spoiling business, he grew very uneasy, and kept himself more out of the way than was consistent with that high post. The King stood in some awe of him, and saw how popular he would grow if put out of his service, and therefore he chose rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction than to dismiss him. He was an incorrupt man, and, during seven years' management of the treasury, made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Restoration the Lord Treasurer had but a small salary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather sold, all the subaltern places, and made great profits out of the estate of the Crown; but now, that estate being gone, and the Earl of Southampton disdaining to sell places, the matter was settled so that the Lord Treasurer was to have eight thousand pounds a year, and the King was to name all the subaltern officers. It continued to be so all his time; but, since that time, the Lord Treasurer has both the eight thousand pounds, and a main hand in the disposing of those places."

This nobleman was thrice married; first to Rachel, daughter of Daniel de Massey, Lord of Rouvigny, in France, by whom he had two sons, Charles and Henry, who died young; and three daughters; Elizabeth, married to Edward Noel, eldest son to Baptist, Viscount Campden; Rachel, first to Francis, son and heir to Richard, Earl of Carbery in Ireland, secondly to William, third son, but at length heir apparent to William, first Duke of Bedford of that family; and Magdalen, who died an infant. His second Countess was Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to Francis Booth, Lord Dunsmore, afterwards created Earl of Chichester, who brought him four daughters; three of whom, Audrey, Penelope, and another Penelope, his youngest child, died young and unmarried, and Elizabeth, the third, was first married to Jocelyn Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and secondly to Ralph, son and

heir to Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton. The Earl of Southampton was married, thirdly, to Frances, daughter to William Seymour second Duke of Somerset of his family, and widow of Richard, Viscount Molyneux in Ireland. He died at Southampton House, in Bloomsbury Square, on the sixteenth of May, 1667, of a violent attack of the cruel malady mentioned by Burnet, and was buried at Tichfield.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

ALGERNON PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1668.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF ESSEX.

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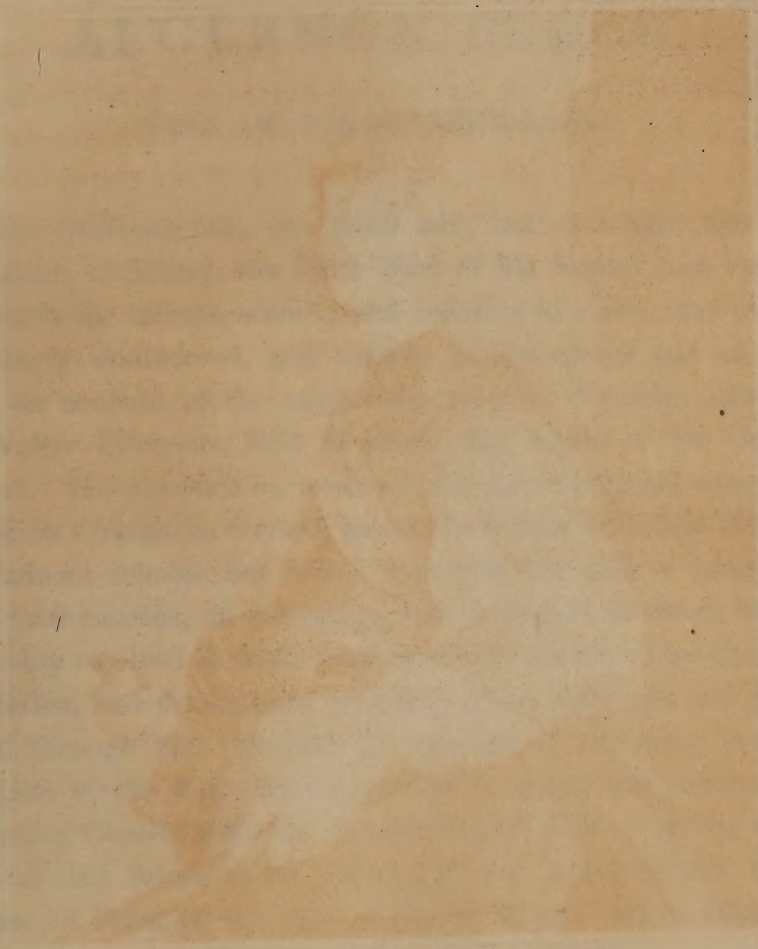

ALGERNON PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS nobleman was the third son, but at length heir and successor, to Henry, the ninth Earl of his family, (not less remarkable for talents, science, and loftiness of spirit, than for his, seemingly undeserved, and tedious imprisonment and persecution, on account of the gunpowder plot) by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot. He was born in, or about, the year 1602, and completed at Christ Church, in Oxford, under the tuition of Robert Hughes, an eminent scholar, but better known for his skill in geography and mathematics, an education, the rudiments of which he had probably received at home from the same master, whom the Earl, his father, had drawn from obscurity at an early age, and patronised through life. In 1616, he was one of the many youthful Knights of the Bath then appointed to grace the ceremony of investing Charles with the Principality of Wales; on the accession of that Prince to the throne, he was called by writ to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Percy; and in 1632, succeeded to the dignities and estates of his ancestors.

The King, moved not only by a personal esteem for him, but by a conscientious desire to compensate, as far as might be, for the injuries which the old Earl had received from the Crown, distinguished him by the highest graces. "I courted him," said Charles, on a remarkable occasion, in the hearing of Lord Clarendon, "as my mistress, and conversed with him as my friend, without the least interruption, or intermission of any possible favour and kindness." He was called to the Privy Council summoned on the commencement of the reign, and chosen one of the

noblemen who accompanied the King to his coronation in Scotland. On the thirteenth of May, 1635, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and in the succeeding year was appointed to command the largest fleet that the Crown had put to sea since the death of Queen Elizabeth, and, having performed with much credit the services required of him, in the expedition against the Dutch fishery for which it was equipped, applied himself after his return, under the authority of some sort of commission which seems to have been not quite of a public nature, to the management of civil affairs relating to the navy, and the reformation of abuses in that department. These were preparatory studies, probably agreed on between the King and himself, to qualify him for the great office of Lord High Admiral of England, to which he was raised on the thirtieth of March, 1637; but the fatal turn of public matters soon after that period called him to a post little less dignified, and then more important, for in 1639 he was appointed Commander in chief of the army then raised to march against the Scottish covenanters. He was at that time held in the utmost estimation by his master, not only as a private friend, but as a minister. Lord Clarendon informs us, and I quote the entire passage chiefly because it so clearly points out the origin, at least in our country, of two political designations so frequently rung in English ears, that "the bulk and burthen of state affairs, whereby the envy attended them likewise, lay principally on the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Cottington; the Earl of Northumberland, for ornament; the Lord Bishop of London, by his place, being Lord High Treasurer of England; and the two Secretaries, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Francis Windebank, for service, and communication of intelligence. These were reproachfully called the Juncto, and, enviously, at court, the Cabinet Council."

We find here a note of disdain attached to his name, which, however delicately expressed, cannot escape observation. The truth is that the Earl of Northumberland, to say no worse of him,

possessed neither a heart nor a mind fit to encounter the great trials which were at hand. Even now, in their dawn, and immediately after he had received the highest mark of confidence, as well as the most distinguished appointment, which his Sovereign could bestow, we find in a letter from him to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester, of the seventh of May, 1640, published in the Sidney papers, these lukewarm expressions—" Notwithstanding this dissolution" (of the Parliament, in the spring of that year) " the King intends vigorously to pursue his former designs, and to levy the same army of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. About three weeks hence they are to be drawn together; but as yet I cannot learn by what means we are to get one shilling towards defraying this great expence. What will the world judge of us abroad, to see us enter into such an action as this, not knowing how to maintain it for one month? It grieves my soul to be involved in these counsels, and the sense I have of the miseries that are like to ensue is held by some a disaffection in me, but I regard not what these persons say," &c. Immediately after this period, the Earl was seized by a violent and lasting illness, which gave him an opportunity to resign into the King's hands the commission which he seems to have been so little disposed to execute.

But an incident which shortly followed seems to have discovered the true bent of his inclination. Henry Percy, his younger brother, and a firm royalist, being about to pass into France on the King's service, just at the time that an address had been proposed in the House of Commons to request his Majesty not to permit any of his servants to go out of the kingdom, had been attacked and wounded by the country people on the coast of Sussex, from whom he escaped with difficulty, and retired to a place of concealment, whence he dispatched to the Earl, his brother, a letter, which, as the event proved, must have imparted matter of great secrecy. This letter, through some monstrous perversion of morals or of intellect, the Earl laid before the

Commons, who had previously voted an impeachment of high treason against Henry, for conspiring to raise troops to overawe the Parliament; and he, during the agitation of the matter, found means to quit the country.

Lord Clarendon, in strangely endeavouring to frame an excuse for the Earl's conduct on this remarkable occasion, increases our sense of his culpability. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "that after his brother's being accused of high treason, and then, upon his hurt in Sussex, coming directly to Northumberland House to shelter himself, the Earl, being in great trouble how to send him away beyond the seas after his wound was cured, advised with a confident friend, then in power, whose affection to him he doubted not, and who, innocently enough, brought Mr. Pym into the council, who overwitted them both, by frankly consenting that Mr. Percy should escape into France, which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him first to draw such a letter from him as might by the party be applied as an evidence of the reality of the plot, after he was escaped; and in this manner the letter was procured; which made a lasting quarrel between the two brothers, and made the Earl more at the disposal of those persons, whom he had trusted so far, than he had been before." This, observes the noble historian, was the first instance of his defection from the King's service, and it produced the worst effects; for, as he then had the most esteemed and unblemished reputation, both in the court and country, of any of his rank in the kingdom, so they who knew him well knew that the greatness of that reputation was but an effect of the singular grace and favour shewn to him by his Majesty; and therefore many who observed him purchase this opportunity of dis-serving the King at the price of his brother's honour, and of his own gratitude, concluded that he had some notable temptation of conscience, and that the court was much worse than it seemed to be.

From that period he gave himself wholly over to the popular party, and became, perhaps with better intentions than those of

many who did less evil, one of its most formidable engines; for his concessions were more mischievous than their activity, and his high rank, immense estates, and universal good character, placed his motives above suspicion. In 1641, the lowest rabble of London had been incited to present a petition to the House of Commons, the main prayer of which was, in effect, that the names of those Peers who usually voted for the favorite measures might be accurately disclosed to them; and the main object, to intimidate the rest by apprehensions of their vengeance. That petition, marvellous to relate, was read, at a conference between the two Houses; immediately after which the Commons sent Mr. Holles with a message to the Peers, requiring their assistance to deprive the King of the militia; to which that gentleman added, in reference to the petition, that if the request of the House of Commons should be rejected, he desired that those Lords who were willing to concur would find some means to make themselves known, in order that those might be known who were unwilling; and in order, said Mr. Holles, "that we may make it known to those who sent us." In the debate, doubtless full of warmth, which followed, the Earl of Northumberland condescended to say that "whosoever refused in that particular to join with the House of Commons were, in his opinion, enemies to the commonwealth." When that House, very soon after, on its own sole authority, commanded him, in his capacity of Lord High Admiral, to equip the royal navy, he obeyed implicitly; and when it directed him to appoint the Earl of Warwick Admiral of the Fleet, for the service of the year 1642, he did so, in disobedience to the King's express pleasure. In the same weakness of mind, for let us hope that the whole of his conduct may be ascribed to that cause, when Charles, in the summer of that year, demanded his commission, with very little hope of success, he quietly resigned it, answering those of the Parliament who earnestly pressed him to retain it, that "it would ill become him, who had received that charge from the King, with such circumstances of

trust and favour, to continue the possession of it against his Majesty's express pleasure, there being a clause in his grant that it should be only during such time as his Majesty should think fit to use his service." He retired accordingly, and the fleet, as might have been reasonably expected, presently after abandoned its allegiance.

The arrival of that miserable epoch which changed the resistance of the House of Commons into positive rebellion, produced no alteration in his conduct. A single instance only of his deviation from a regular passive obedience to the prevailing party can be discovered; he appears to have been privy to what was called Waller's plot, in 1643; but his name was so useful to the rebels that they forbore to institute any process against him. They continued to employ him, but without confidence, and he still accepted their commissions, though he had lost all affection to their cause; for he had by this time a clear prospect of those dangers against which the history of popular revolutions, not less vainly, by a strange fatality, than frequently, warns men of his degree. Little however was now left for him to perform, or rather to endure. He was placed at the head of the commissioners appointed to negotiate with Charles in the several treaties of Oxford, Uxbridge, and Newport; and in April, 1645, the royal children were committed by the Commons to his custody, and he retained that charge till the murder of their father. Immediately after that sad event, which he had used his best arguments, the only means of which he had not stripped himself, to prevent, he retired to his seat at Petworth, in Sussex, where he remained in privacy till 1660, when, on the arrival of Monk from Scotland, he received that officer with open arms, and, at the head of what was called the moderate Presbyterian party, concerted with him the means of the restoration. He accepted no public employment under Charles the second, except those of Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Sussex and Northumberland.

Lord Clarendon tells us that this nobleman "was in all his

deportment a very great man, and that which looked like formality was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wise man, which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for; and in debates of importance he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above him as he thought himself above other considerable men he would have been a good subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the impressions which they who approached him by those addresses of reverence and esteem that usually insinuate themselves into such natures made in him: so that after he was first prevailed upon not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, which is a pestilent corruption, he was with the more facility led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and so he concurred in all the counsels which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it."

Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, died on the thirteenth of October, 1668, and was buried at Petworth. He had been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and, secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk. By the former lady he had five daughters; Catherine, Lucy, and Dorothy, who died young; Anne, married to Philip, Lord Stanhope, after her death Earl of Chesterfield; and Elizabeth, to Arthur, Lord Capel, afterwards created Earl of Essex; by the latter, an only son, Josceline, who succeeded him, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who died an infant.